Æsculapius hic Librorum ærugo, Vetustas
Per quem nulla potest Britonum consumere charta.

T. Cross sculpsit

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Per quem nulla potest Britonum consumere chartas

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AN

ANSWER

To such

MOTIVES

As were offer'd by certain

MILITARY-MEN

TO

Prince HENRY,

Inciting Him to Affect

Arms more than *Peace.*

Made at His Highneſs command by Sr. *Robert Cotton* Baronet.

With a ſhort View of the LIFE and REIGN of *Henry* the Third King of *England*, by the ſame Author.

The Second Edition, very much Corrected, and a Preface added by Sr. *John Cotton* Baronet.

To which is annexed the FRENCH CHARITY, or an ESSAY written in *French* by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, upon occaſion of Prince *Harcourt*'s coming into *England*: and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by *F. S. J. E.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock*, at the *Phœnix* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, and at the White Hart in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. 1675.

To my Honoured Friend and Kinſman Mr. Walter Chetwind.

HAving taken ſome pains to correct and amend this little Piece of my *Grand-fathers*, I was not long in conſidering to whom I ſhould direct the Dedication. I have had the happineſs to know you, even from your Infancy; and have alwayes continued my affection to you and your Family. Your Friendſhip and Kindneſs unto me,

I esteem as the chiefest part of my felicity; and as he amongst other his Titles, would have this ingrav'd upon his Monument, *A Friend to* Sr. *Philip Sidney*; so I desire to be known to Posterity, by no name more Illustrious than that of

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

Cotton-House
May 14.
1675.

John Cotton.

THE

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

So strange a desire and itch of writing, doth possess the greatest part of the world; and men are so in love with their own imaginations, that they would have their follies engraved in Brass and Marble. Upon this account the learned and most ingenious Physician in that incomparable piece of his Religio Medici *hath these words;* "*I have heard some with deep* "*sighs lament the lost lines of* Cicero; *others* "*with as many groans deplore the combustion of* "*the Library of* Alexandria: *for my own part, I* "*think there be too many in the world, and could* "*with patience behold the Urn and Ashes of the* "Vatican, *could I, with a few others, recover the* "*perished leaves of* Solomon. *'Tis not a me-* "*lancholy* Utinam *of my own, but the desires of* "*better heads, that there were a general Synod;* "*not to unite the incompatible difference of Re-* "*ligion, but for the benefit of Learning, to re-* "*duce it as it lay at first, in a few and solid* "*Authors, and to condemn to the fire those swarms*

Sr. Tho. Brown.

"*and*

"*and millions of Rhapsodies, begotten only to di-*
"*stract and abuse the weaker judgement of Scho-*
"*lars, and to maintain the trade and mysterie of*
"*Typographers. What a multitude of books* (ὅσα ψαμαθός τε, κόνις τε) *concerning the controversies in Religion between us and the Romanists hath invaded the world; and to use* Homer's *words,* ἐπίων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα? *But of these (excepting some few) as for example, that of the Archbishop* Laud's *against* Fisher, *Mr.* Chillingworth *against* Knot, *The Author of* Via Recta, *and* Via Devia, *and that incomparable pair of learned men Dr.* Stillingfleet *and Dr.* Tillotson, *with the most Learned and Pious Dr.* Hammond *against that Pest and* κάθαρμα *of Mankind,* Serjeant) *the Major part, are (as he saith) a spurious brood, the laborious effects of ease and idleness, not worthy the Vacant hours of a serious person. Having said this it may justly be objected against me, why I by putting forth this Book, should help to encrease this Epidemical disease. To this I answer: 1. I received some encouragement by the general favour and acceptance which the world was pleas'd to give to this small Treatise. 2. My pious affection and Duty to the Author did inflame my desires to propagate his Name (as much as in me lay) to Posterity. 3. Being but a small Book it was secure from that censure,* μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν. *If this little Treatise may find not only pardon, but some acceptance, from those few of the more knowing persons, I have obtain'd my design: To please all I know is impossible;*

——— Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ζεὺς
Οὐθ' ὕων πάντας ἀνδάνει, οὔτ' ἀνέχων.

John Cotton.

PROPOSITIONS OF WAR and PEACE

Delivered to His Highneſs

PRINCE HENRY

By ſome of his Military ſervants.

Arguments for War.

ARmes of *Policy*, as well as works of Nature, (*a*) are beſt preſerved from the ſame grounds they were firſt founded on. By *Armes* was laid the foundation of this State, whether we reſpect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was War that of ſeven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that ſince by many glorious exploits hath made good in forreign parts the renown of her own greatneſs, and crowned thereby this State with an eternal peace. Times nor our own vertues are not changed: Neceſſity, Benefit, and Facility of War being the ſame that they were before to our forefathers.

(a) *Panſæ & Hirtii conſilium Cæſari.*

Reasons of forraign War drawn from

1. Necessity, for

1. Preservation of our own peace.

We never were so near peril by shipwrack in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awful hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, *a*) *Remoto Carthaginis metu, & Imperii æmula*, when the fear of *Carthage* her competitor for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, a negotio ad otium*, rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence as greatest Nations, *cum ab externis causis tuta videntur, ipsa suis viribus onerantur*, when there is no longer fear of forraign enemies, their own strength becomes a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil arms: For *cum foris non habent hostem, domi inveniunt*, when people have no enemies abroad, they'l find some at home; as all warlike and fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of their humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away of our factious spirits, it will remove the seat of blood from our own

2. Venting of factious spirits.

doors,

(a) *Velleius Paterculus.*

3 Instructing in arms our people.

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in arms the better dispositions, whose military skill may after serve to defend the State; & by the late accession of another Nation will be now more needful, (a) *Ne novus populus otio & nimia pecunia lasciviret*, lest *that* other people should grow wanton through too much wealth and idleness, and we in the end be enforced with the Satyrist (*b*) to confess,

a *Tacit. An.* 10.

b *Juvenal.*

Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala, sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit——
We suffer now the harm of a long peace,
Whil st Riot, worse than war, doth thus increase.

2 Benefits.

1 Wealth, by addition of

1 Spoil of the Enemy.
2 Addition of Revenue by subjected territories.

2 Honor, by addition of

1 Title.
2 Dominion.

The benefits arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our *French* & *Spanish* attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the *Revenues* of the subjected Signiories, as *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, &c. supporting with much and vantage the expence in keeping: Our *Honour*, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; & by accession of so many Territories as we held in *France*, our Dominions and liberties so far inlarged.

3. A more facility to effect than heretofore, by { 1 Addition of new strength. 2 Substraction of diversions } The facility to effect this being now more than ever by the addition of strength, and substraction of diversions, in this happy union of the *Britain Empire.*

AN ANSWER TO THE FORMER

Arguments made by the command OF HIS

HIGHNESS.

AS he can give best Rules to preserve the health of a body natural, that by observing the divers humours, accidents and dispositions thereof, findeth at length the cause from whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by mixture of Art and Observation sets to his Patient rules of exercise and dyet: so is it in a Kingdom or Commonwealth. If then out of the Registers of Record and Story, the true Remembrancers of Art and Errour in passages of State, it shall appear that

Answers to the former Arguments.

1 Affections of our wiſeſt Princes ever to peace.

2 Forraign expeditions

2 Cauſe of

1 Rebellions at home.

3 Confederacy & alliance the means of former victories, no ways to be reſtored as heretofore.

3 Danger to the State. 2 Vaſſalage. 1 Endleſs taxations.

that thoſe times wich have been glorified with the mightieſt Princes and wiſeſt Councils, would ever acknowledge that (a) *Pax una triumphis Innumeris potior*; one Peace outgoes for worth Innumerable triumphs; That Combuſtions at home were like Meteors, ever kindled in another Region, but ſpent themſelves there; That our men inſtead of *Lawrel* and *Olive Garlands* to adorn with victory and peace our Gates and Temples, have ever brought home fire-balls to burn our Cities; That forraign ſpoils have been ſummed up with *Taxes* and *Penury*; That this addition of *Revenue* hath tyed us to a perpetual iſſue of our own Treaſure; That by theſe titles of *Honour* we have bought *Slavery*, and by *extenture* of *Territories*, Danger; And that difficulty either to undertake or purſue any forraign enterpriſe now is much more than in any age before; I think that no *Engliſhman* will either love his own errour ſo much, or his Countrey ſo little, as to adviſe a courſe ſo far eſtranged either from judgement or ſecurity.

(a) *Sil. Ital. lib.* 11.

Examples of the affection of our Kings successively to Peace.

IT is manifest by warrant of our own examples, that the Kings of *England*, (except in some heat of Youth, which is not the best director of Counsel) preferred unjust Peace before the justest War: none inthralling their minds with ambitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imaginary humours of licentious Soveraignty; every one willing to pass his time with content of his private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the second gave 20000 marks (a) *Expensarum nomine*, under the notion of expences, to the *French* King, *ut firmior Pax haberetur*, that he might have a firm and setled Peace. His succeeding son *pro quieta clamatione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French* King (b) *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *John* gave to the *French* King, to match his calm entrance to a secure peace. Until the Confederacy with (c) *Scotland*, and invading of the Land by *Charls de Valoys* the *French* King provoked *Edward* the first, he never disquieted *France* with noise of war, as after he did by the (d) Earls of *Richmond* and *Lancaster*, although *Boniface* the Pope incited him thereunto. His Son, the second *Edward*, *anno* 2. requireth the Bishops and Clergy to pray and offer alms for him, and the people of this State; the words are, (e) *ut Deus nos regat & dirigat in mundi hujus turbinibus*, that God would rule and direct us in the troubles of this world; for that having sought all means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guerrarum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitterness,

(a) *Benedictus Monachus in vita H. 2.*

(b) *Ex Matth. Paris pag. 214.*

(c) *Rog. Hoveden.*

(d) *Ex alditam. Properi Aquitaniæ Episc.*

(e) *Rot. Claus. anno secundo E. 3. m. 11.*

neſs, and detention of his Meſſengers, Son, and part of his *Dutchy* of *Gaſcoigne*, his Rebels injoying all Protection, and his Merchants all Inhoſpitality, whoſe ſhips his enemy *hoſtiliter cepit, & Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hoſtile ſort. and ſlew the Merchants. The Parliament *quinto* of *Edward* 3. (a) was eſpecially called to conſult how Peace might be procured. In his 17 year (b) the Peers and Commons petition him to labour a peace with *France*, and to ſollicite the Pope for mediation. The truce from hence effected he would by no means violate, but in the twentieth year moveth peace by all the offers he (c) can, as *Contracts*, *Intermarriage*, and to take up the Croſs with *France*, *in ſuccurſum Terræ Sanctæ*, for ſuccour of the Holy Land. But all he could do could abate no whit of the *French* fury, (d) who invaded by themſelves *Aquitain*, *England* by the *Scots*, ſurprizing in breach of Truce his Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignominioſæ morti tradidit*, he put to ſhameful deaths; there and in *Gaſcoign* murdering the reſt of his Subjects, and raſing his Caſtles nor would upon a ſecond meditation admit any way of peace. War then was left his laſt refuge; (e) *Et pia Armaquibus nulla niſi in Armis ſpes eſt*, War is to that man juſt and lawful, who hath no hope of help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoyned to open in Sermons, that he might eſchew the infamy of *Chriſtian* blood-ſhed. In his two and twentieth year finding war to have brought to his people (f) *gravia onera & multa mala*, heavy burthens and many miſchiefs, as the Record ſaith, and that the fortune of War *cum ſplendet frangitur*, when it ſhineth cleareſt is

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. anno 5 Ed. 3. n. r.*

(b) *Ex Rotul. Parl. anno 17 E. 3.*

(c) *Ex Rot. Franciæ an. 19. m. 10.*

(d) *Ex Rot. Clauſ. in dorſo 20 E. 3. m. 16. part. 1.*

(e) *Iiv. lib. 9.*

(f) *Rot. Clauſ. anno 2 Ed. 3.*

then neareſt breaking; he paſſed over into *France* to ſeek peace divers times; and to ſtrengthen his affections with the beſt hopes, he injoyneth all the Biſhops of *England* to offer (a) *devotas preces ſuppliciter ad Deum*, humble and devout prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods glory and the peace of his Countrey, *nec non ad totius Chriſtianitatis commodum*, and the advantage of the whole Chriſtian world; which he believed could not follow but by a firm amity with his neighbours. This is the diſlike of war he openeth himſelf in the five and twentieth year (b) in Parliament, declaring the great means he had wrought by the *Pope*, but could not effect it: And in the third year after (c) calleth again the body of the State, to deviſe with him the means to obtain it; for that he ſaw his Subjects by war ſo greatly waſted. But (d) when *anno* 29. to redeem himſelf and ſubjects from the hard tasks they had undertaken, and to avoid *effuſionem ſanguinis Chriſtiani, quantum potuit, vel decuit, pacem quaſivit*, the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood, he ſought peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was fitting, ſending the Duke of *Lancaſter* to *Avignon* in interceſſion, but all in vain; he ſtood upon his own ſtrength. By which his confident adverſary (the year following captive) that was afore obdurate, juſtly found, that one hour can overthrow *ſimul parta & ſperata decora*, at once both the honours we enjoy and thoſe we hope for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings ſucceſs, as *Livy* (e) of the *Roman* fortune, *Propterea bella felicia geſſiſſe, quia juſta*, that therefore his wars were proſperous, becauſe they were juſt.

(a) *Dorſ. Claus. an.* 22 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 11. *Similiter* 8 *R.* 2. *Claus. m.* 34.

(b) *Rot. Parl. anno* 25 *E.* 3.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 28 *E.* 3.

(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 29 *E.* 3.

(e) *Liv. l.* 5. *Dec.* 5.

To

To obtain his desire and Subjects quiet, he was contented to disclaim *(a)* the interest that Right and Fortune had cast upon him. And after, though often again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames *Neptune* very unjustly who suffers shipwrack the second time: until the *French* King (b) *contra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners displayed, invaded his dominions in *France*, and with a Fleet intended to attempt *England, ad ipsum Regem viribus subvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

(a) *Ex Chart. origin. de renunciat. in Thesaur.*

(b) *Claus. anno 45 E. 3.*

Richard the second, whom as well he left Successour to his troubles as to his Kingdom, entred in the decline of his Grandsires fortune, and after many years of war and much loss, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Council in Parliament, *(c)* their longing affection was so much inclined thereto, that they advised the King, though it were in doing homage for *Guien*, *Callis* and the rest, he should not let slip that opportunity.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 7 R. 2. n. 17.*

Until *Charles* of *France* had received *(d)* that dangerous Rebel *Owen Glendowr*, by the name of *Metuendissimi Principis Walliæ*, the most dread Prince of *Wales*, into a strict confederacy against his Master (whom he vouchsafed no other title than *Henricus de Lancastria*) by contract, and had harrowed the Isle of *Wight* by the Duke of *Orleans* and Earl of *Saint Paul*, entred into *Gascoign* himself, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this Land, *Henry* the

(d) *Ex contract. origin. inter Owinum Glendowr & Regem Franciæ.*

the fourth did never disquiet his peace; and after many prorogued Truces, would not break out again, until *Burgundy* (a) (that had wrested into his hand the Government of *France*) meant with all his force to besiege *Calis*, and annoy this Realm.

(a) *Rot. Parl. ann* 11 *Hen.* 4. *n.* 2.

The Uncle and *Chancellour* to *Henry* the fifth declared in (*b*) Parliament the desire his Master had to procure Peace, and how the *French* King had refused all reason, denying to render his prisoners, or ransom those taken at *Agincourt* battel: so that the King was driven to his last hope, which was by dint of sword to seek his peace, concluding thus his speech; *Bella faciamus ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis Belli Pax est*: Let us fight, that we may obtain peace; for the end of war is peace.

(b) *Rot. Parl. an.* 4 *Hen.* 5.

Henry the sixth, to save the expence of his people and treasure, offered (*c*) many large and liberal conditions, but received in exchange nothing but scoffs: he was contented to part with the Duchy of *Mayne*, to make up a peace with his uncle of *France*.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 14 *H.* 6. *n.* 2.

Against the Duke of *Somerset* it was objected (*d*) by the Duke of *York*, that he (contrary to the Oath and Council, by breaking the Amity between the two Princes) was the only ground of the loss of *Normandy*.

(d) *Ex Artic. in Consilio contra D. Somerset.*

There is extant in the Treasury (*e*) a petition of 9 *Hen.* 7. from the Captains and military men, *pro pace habenda*, that they might have peace.

(e) *Int. Record. Thes. Westm.*

Neither interest of right, nor jealousie of increasing power, could draw *Henry* 8. unto the quarrel of *France*; until the Church complained against *Lewis* 12. ((*f*) who neither esteeming

(f) *Ex Bulla Pap. H.* 8.

of

of God, good fame, nor conſcience, detained the revenues of the Clergy, ſupported the Cardinal *William* to aſpire to the *Papacy*, aided in the ſiege of *Boucy Alfonſo* of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivogli*, both Traytors to the *Papal* See, where he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire to uſurp all *Italy*,) and beſought him for the pitty of our *Saviour*, and by the virtue of his famous Anceſtors (for I uſe the words of the *Popes* Brief) (*a*) that never forſook the Church of God in diſtreſs, and by his filial obedience, (the ſtrongeſt bond) to enter into that holy *League*, they having elected him againſt *Lewis*, *Caput fœderis Italici*, Head of the *Italian* League.

(a) *Ex traſlatu origin. lit. l. B.* 266.

Edward the ſixth, (*b*) until urged with the touch of his honour, being by his neighbours neglected in the marriage of their Miſtreſs, never attempted any war againſt them.

(b) *Ex procla. E. 6. de expeditione contra Scotos.*

The quarrels of *France* in the time of his ſucceeding ſiſter, after the marriage with *Spain*, were neither properly ours, nor begun by us, although in the end we only went away with the loſs.

Her Siſter of holy memory, to effect the peace with *France*, forbore (*c*) the demand of *Callis* for eight years, and neglected to urge a juſt debt of four millions from that Crown. (*d*) And the labours ſhe ſpent to confirm amity with *Spain*, by many friendly offices of mediation, are apparent to the whole world; though in the end of her deſires ſhe failed: whether happily in prevention of the *Spaniſh Monarchy* eternizing her memory, or that this work of peace was by divine providence reſerved for him that could and hath beſt effected it, I know not. Only I conclude, that as the firſt Monarch in *Rome*, ſo the firſt in *Britain* might

(c) *Ex tract. Cambrenſi.* 1569.
(d) *Ex procl. anno* 3. *Eliz.*

might justly write, *Pace Populo Britanno terra marique parta, Janum clausi*, having setled *Britain* in peace by Land and sea, I have shut up the doors of *Janus* Temple.

Forraign arms the ground of trouble at home, by the

- Enemy who to divert will attempt.
- Subjects.
  - wearied with Toyl. Taxation.
  - Feared with the effect of tyranny.
  - Inured to wars can never sute after to a quiet life.

It is evident by our own examples, that for the most part, the Civil or Forraign Armies that have oppressed this State, have been either bred out of our first attempting of others, or out of the grievance of the Nobility and people, either wearied with the toil and charge, or feared with the effect of Tyranny, which might corrupt the good fortune of their King, or else (a plague no less of war) that the better sort inured to command abroad, have forgotten to obey at home, and the inferiour by living there upon rapine and purchase, unwilling here to tye themselves again to order and industry.

Examples of Invasion drawn from the attempts of others.

There is in the Register of State no time that so well expresseth either the danger or damage we underwent in making an adversary, as that of *Edward* the third. Out of many examples I will select some few, beginning with the tenth of his reign; at what time his intention was to attempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Philip*, who, mustring *in partibus Britannie ad invadendum*

vadendum Regnum Anglia, in the parts of *Britany* to invade the Kingdom of *England*, a puiſſant Army, enforced *Edward* the third to fall from his firſt purpoſe, and inſiſt upon his own guard: for which cauſe, to the infinite charge of himſelf and people, he levied 80000. men out of the Shires of this Kingdom. To withdraw his forces from *France*, in the thirteenth of his reign, they invaded the Realm, and burned the Towns of *Plymouth* and *Southampton*, places that ſuffered from the ſame motive the like calamity. *Ex Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10 E. 3. *m.* 14.

In the firſt of *Richard* the ſecond, after the Battel of *Creſſy*, when they feared our too much footing, and we too much believed our own fortune, for the *cito repoſcit quod dedit*, quickly calls for back what ſhe gave us; the (a) Duke of *Normandy*, to draw home our forces, levieth an Army of forty thouſand men at armes, and forty thouſand foot, ſharing by idle contracts beforehand with his Confederates not the ſpoils only, but the Kingdom it ſelf: the Honour and ſome other portion of benefits he reſerved as his own meed; the poſſeſſions of many *Engliſh* Subjects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of *Normandy*, and to the *French* King an yearly tributary Fee of twenty thouſand pound. In theſe terms this Realm ſtood almoſt all the time of *Edward* the third. (a) *Rot. Parl.*

The Coaſt-dwellers were ſo frighted from their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the King commanded the Earl of *Richmond* (b) and other Peers to reſide at their border houſes; and was inforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by Ordinance, that none ſhould remove that dwelt (b) *Rot. Franc. in dorſo.* 22 E. 3. *m.* 6.

within

within *sex leucas à mari*, six leagues of the Sea.

It was no whit altered under his successour *Richard* the second; for in his entrance the *French* burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year after *Gravesend*. And in the tenth year of his reign, to change his intended journey for *France* in person, the *French* King prepareth an Army to invade this Land. This quarrel led us almost into an eternal charge at Sea, and in the Northern limits, they and our Neighbours there being tyed of old in strict assurance of mutual aid: by whose desperate and perpetual incursion (for *nescit Plebs jejuna timere*, an half-starved rabble fears nothing,) the fattest parts of our borders were left waste, the men and cattle of *England* (as 16. of *Edw.* 2.) *impetus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for safety to the Forrests and defart places. The like I find in the first of *Edward* the third: they ever thus interrupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as in 20 *Ed.* 3. and in the first and second of *Richard* the second, in the fifth of *Henry* the fifth, and in the fourth of *Henry* the eighth, when he undertook his holy voyage against *Lewis* the twelfth.

And either being no less ready to nourish the least spark of Rebellion in this State, as that of the *French* King to counterpoize King *John*; or work out *Henry* the third from his *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by the *Duke* of *Britain*, the Earl of *Hartford* to reach the Crown of *Richard* the second, and when he had got the Garland, suborning *Owen Glendowr* (with whom he contracted as *Prince* of *Wales*) to busie the same King at home, that he might divert his intended purpose from *France* or *Scotland*.

When

WHen *Henry* the third had devoured in his mind the Kingdom of *Sicily*, the Nobility finding the expence of Treasure, and fearing the exposing of their own persons, grew so unwilling, that by the bent and course of the record it appeareth (*a*) not the least ground of that rebellion which after drew the King and his Son to so foul conditions.

Nobility in dislike of forraign expeditions have rebelled.

(a) *Ex Rot. pat. & claus. de annis* 40, 41, 42 *Hen.* 3.

A judgement there must be between powers and undertakings, that though affections may carry a man to great things, they make him not attempt impossible: for where great minds are not accompanied with great judgements, they overthrow themselves. As in this Prince, who by the *Popes* incitement *simplicitatem Regis circumveniens*, circumventing the King in his honest meaning, (they are the words of the Author (*b*)) intending to rifle the fortunes of others, was in the end inforced to play at dice for his own stake.

(b) *Cominei censura de com. char. cap.* 8.

The *Earls* of *Hartford*, *Bohun* and *Bigot*, made the grounds of their commotions the distaste they took at *Edward* the first for exacting their Service in the quarrel of *Gascoign*, a forraign Countrey. And they might seem to have some colour to refuse, but in a more mannerly fashion, either attendance or charge in recovery or defence of Provinces in *France*, since so many consents in Parliament as (*c*) the twentieth of *Rich.* the second, the sixth and ninth of *Henry* the fourth, the first and seventh of *Henry* the fifth affirm the Commons not to be bound *pour supporter ses Guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie*, to support his wars either in *France* or *Normandy*; declaring no less by publick protestation, than they did by undutiful denial.

Burthen of personal service grievous.

(c) *Ex Rot. Parl. de annis* 20 *Rich.* 2. 6. & 9 *Hen.* 4. 1. & 7 *Hen.* 5.

For

Burthen of charge grievous, ground of much trouble and oppression.

For the burden of *Charge*, it was no less distasteful than the former of Service, this Kingdom being (as it is said (a) of the *Roman* Provinces occasioned by war) made desert, and the people desperate by *Exactions*. In the Conquerours time the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levyed by him. There was (b) *murmuratio & imprecatio Prælatorum in Regem Joannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *John*, for demanding in the eighth of his reign a relief of them and the Laiety for his wars. In the sixteenth year *Cives Londinenses Joannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigaverat*, the *Londoners* detested King *John* for his tiring out the Kingdom with unjust taxations. (c) The sink of his expence in war was so bottomless, that (as the story saith) he was constrained *desævire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eas bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them several wayes of their goods. (d) *Hinc secutum est Bellum inter Regem & Barones quod cum morte Joannis solum finem habuit:* This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *John* himself.

(a) *Cicero Epist. ad Att. lib. 5.*

(b) *Ex Radulpho Gogeshal. de anno 8 Joannis.*

(c) *Ex Matth. West.*

(d) *Ex Matth. Paris hist. minori.*

In the twenty sixth of *Henry* the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continual exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons (e). At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve

(e) *Ex Matth. Paris hist. ma. p. 780.*

twelve years, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times ſupplyed him; and expreſſing the particulars beſides in the ſame place, he had received *tot Eſcaetas*, ſo many Eſcheats, by the vacancy of rich *Biſhopricks*, death of ſo many *Barons* and others that held of him, that thoſe alone would have made him rich if they had been well imployed. That the *Itinerant Juſtices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them ſo near, that *per illa amerciamenta & alia Auxilia prius data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in Bonis*, by thoſe Amercements and the Subſidies they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was ſo cruſhed and impoveriſhed, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their reſiſtance. (a) *Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis & alii Prelati reſiſtunt Regi*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other Prelates reſiſt the King, when in his fifteenth year he demanded *Scutagi*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *cauſa bellica expeditionis in partibus tranſmarinis*, occaſioned by his forraign expeditions, was anſwered by *Randulph Earl* of *Cheſter*, the mouth of the Laiety, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam ſuam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes receſſerunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had poured out their money ſo liberally, as that being all impoveriſhed by it, they were not obliged to aſſiſt him any farther. And thus (b) diſſolved the Parliament.

(a) *Ex Joann. Everſdin.*

(b) *Ex hiſt. Matth. Paris pag.* 32.

The Clergy of the Realm in the twenty fourth of *Edward* the firſt denyed the demand of *Contribution* (c) *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos & ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the Kings expe-

(c) *Ex Matth. Wiſtm. Walt. Gisborn.*

dition against the *French*, and the repressing of the *Scots*. And *ob has crebras exactiones magnus fit tumultus inter Regem & Barones*, by reason of these frequent extortions, there arose a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.

(a) *Rot. Claus. anno 5 Ed. 3.*

One of the Articles of treason objected against *Mortimer* (a) in Parliament in the fourth of *Edward* the third, was the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidie to be exacted. This humour of the people did somewhat suit with that of the Inhabitants of *Trevers*, (b) who stoned to death *Froclerus* for perswading *Theodoret* the *Goth* to crave a Subsidy.

(b) *Cassiodori Var.*

(c) *Rot. Alm. m. 22.*

The Clergy in the twelfth of *Edward* the third, (c) deny such a grant of their Wools as the Laiety had yielded to, for supplying the King in his affairs of *France*. The like answer they make the forty fourth of the same King, when he (d) demanded in *Parliament* a Subsidy of them and the Commons of 100000*l*. And the same King grown doubtful of his people prest down with Impositions, requireth the Archbishop, (e) *Quod cum Populus Regni sui variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impositionibus pragravetur, ut idem Archiepisc. Indulgentiarum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis modis, eundum Populum placare studeat, & ipsum Regem excuset*, that since the Subjects of his Kingdom were over-charged with many Burthens, Tallages, and other Impositions, the said Archbishop would by grant of Indulgences, seasonable Exhortations, and other ways endeavour to pacifie the people, and excuse the King.

(d) *Tho. Walsingham. Rot. Parl. anno 44 E. 3.*

(e) *Rot. Alm. 12 E. 3. m. 22*

By reason of the *Census per Capita*, Pol-money imposed by Parliament in the third of *Richard* the second to defray the wars in *France*, there were

were (a) *dirae imprecationes in Regem, & magna post perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis insurrectione*; heavy and bitter imprecations against the King, which were followed with great troubles in the Nation by the insurrection of the Commons. And as well in the reign of this King, as some other of his Predecessours and Successours, the Parliament was so tender in grant of Subsidy and other Taxes, that they added into their Act, (b) *quod non trahatur in consequentiam*, that it should be no example for the future, appointing peculiar Treasurers of their own to give account upon Oath the next Parliament: and such *Grants*, which they professed to proceed (c) *ex libera & spontanea voluntate Dominorum & Comitatuum*, from the free and voluntary grant of the Lords and respective Counties, to be void if Conditions on the Kings part were not performed. And this unfortunate King had cast upon him as an argument of his unworthiness to govern, the exacting of so great Subsidies, and extorting so much money from the Shires that submitted their Fortunes unto his mercy.

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. de an. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, & 9 R. 2. & Claus. anno 8 E. 2.*

(b) *Ex chron. S. Albani.*

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 1 H. 4.*

And when *Henry* the sixth in *anno* 20. would have had a Relief from his Subjects (d) *de aliqua summa notabili*, of some considerable summ; he had in answer, *Propter inopiam*, &c. *populi illud non posse obtineri*, that in regard of the poverty, *&c.* of the people it could not be granted. The like in the twenty fourth of the same King. Great men have been disposed sometimes to humour the waste of Treasure in their Princes, either to subject Power by Need to their devotion and awe, (for Princes dare most offend them whom they have least cause to use;) or to force Neces-

(d) *In Rundel Inquisitionum, anno 20. & anno 24 H. 6.*

say to extend *Prerogative* so far, untill by putting all into Combustion, some may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redress of supposed Injuries. (a) Thus did the Faction of *Henry* the fourth in the one, and the Nobility under *Henry* the third in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppressed (as they thought) with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poictovins* and other Strangers.

(a) *Ex lib. Abbat. de Vanay.*

Subjects fear to have the enemies of their Soveraigns too much weakned, left themselves become Tyrants. And it is in the farthest respect in the (b) *Baronage* under *John*, *Henry* his son, and (c) *Edward* the second, to fear as much the absolute Greatness of their Soveraign, as they did the *Diminution* of their own estates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too fast upon any neighbour Adversary, then would they lend their best aid to diminish his power or fortune; left by inlarging himself upon the other that poized his greatness, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one saith of *Henry* the first, (d) *Assumpserat cornua audacia tam contra Ecclesiam quam Regni universalitatem, Roberto fratre & aliis inimicis edomitis*, having once overcome his brother *Robert* and other enemies, with audacious and presumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the rest of the Kingdom, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

(b) *Mat. Paris Hist. min.*

(c) *Ex Adam Murimouth in vita Ed. 2.*

(d) *Mat. Paris Hist. min.*

The memory of this caused the Nobility (e) to call in the *French* Kings Son, when *John* their Soveraign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the *French* Subjects aided on the other side *Henry* the third against their

(e) *Mat. Par's Hist. majori.*

their Master, when he was almost cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice usual in those days.

THe last mischief is the disposition that Military education leaveth in the minds of many; For it is not born with them that they so much distaste peace, but proceeds from that custome that hath made in them another nature.

Military Education cause of trouble in the state.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerously undertaken, but where the plot and pursuit was made by a spirit so infused.

Heads of dangerous Rebellions have been only such as by Command in War have forgot to obey in Peace.

King *John* had been after (a) *sine Regno* without a Kingdom, as he was at first *sans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the disloyal designs of *Fitz walter* and *Marshal*, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the *Norman* Services) than either his rebated Sword or blasted Sceptre could.

(a) *Mat. Paris anno* 5 Joan.

(b) If *Simon Montfort* had not been too much improved in *Experience* and his own Opinion by the many services he underwent in the Government of *Gascoign*, he had never so much dared against Duty, as to come over at the first call to make head against his Master, and pursue him with that fury of Ambition, until he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his person by the blasting of so many flowers of his *Imperial Crown*: and to set himself so far below the seat of Majesty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I use his own words) (c) *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere*, it shall be lawful for all persons in our Kingdom to rise up against us, and to do *omnia quæ gravamen*

(b) *Willielm. de Rishanger in Historia.*

(c) *Ex Charta confirm. Baronibus anno* 49 *Hen.* 3.

vamen nostrum respiciant, acsi Nobis in nullo tenerentur, so to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no tye obliged to us.

If *Richard Duke* of *York*, had never learned to be so great a Souldier at the cost of his Master *Henry* the sixth in another State, he had never disquieted the calm of his Times, or given just occasion to his Opposite *Somerset* to say, That *if he had never learned to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into* England.

Verba Ducis Somerset. contra Ducem Eborac. coram Rege.

Our own times can afford some, whose spirit improved by *Military imployment*, and made wanton with popular applause, might have given instance of these dangers, if good success had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds some exorbitant spirits, who turn the edge of their own sufficiency upon whatsoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehensions, seeking rather a great than a good Fame; and holding it the chiefest Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monsters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But war some may say mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will use their weapons for ornament amongst their Friends, against Enemies for defence. And to those men their own goodness is not safe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt*, for Kings suspect good men sooner than bad. Kings must have their Ministers *pares negotiis* fit for their business, and not *supra* above it, or too able for it. For another

mans

mans too-much sufficiency (as they take it) is a diminution of their respectiveness, and therefore dangerous.

THe meaner sort having forgot the toile of their first life by inuring themselves to the liberty of War, which leaveth for the most part the lives of men to their own loosenes, and the means of getting to their own justice, can never again endure either order or labour; and so return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawless manners. For living more riotously than the rapine of forraign victory could warrant, (as for the most they do) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they desire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take least care for their livings, however the world goes they can be no losers: for like *Silla*'s Army, making no difference between sacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword seldom teacheth either mean or modesty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Countrey-men at home. For who can expect men dissolutely disciplined can ever use their armes with moderation?

Many disorders in the State by return of the common Souldier.

Against the fury of such seditious Outrages many Parliaments, as (*a*) in the twenty second of *Hen.* the sixth have been sollicited for redress. And that example in (*b*) *Champaign* after the Peace at *Calis* 1360. where this licentious Rout at the close of those wars slew the *Duke* of *Bourbon*, and besieged the *Pope* at *Avignon*, may suffice to express this mischief.

(a) *Parl. anno 22 Hen. 6.*

(b) *Froiss. vol.*

It hath no less weakened the bond of mutual Trade; since our Merchants, whom the necessity

of late times left to recover by force the losses they pretended, do now teach, as a *Maxime* of their Mysterie and our State, That the directest way either to wealth or security is by *Rapine* and Spoil: and to cloak their own ends pretend the common good; as if the State stood by their affections, when in truth they themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida* in troubled waters; and therefore would have *Incendium Patriæ* a bonefire of their Country, if it be but to keep warm and awake their own humours.

Exhausting of the people no Necessity but Danger.

THe last motive from Necessity is, the ease War bringeth to a surcharged State. Intending it seemeth *War* but as the Sink, and Soldiers but as the Corruptions of Common-weals; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, (an Errour in the argument) Nature doth never oppress further by increase, than she again dischargeth. The breast of the Mother she enableth to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth; proportioning to the number of the Children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may surcharge; for Parents by such indulgent admission may soon famish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue (when such elective power is left to him only *qui suis stat viribus, non alienæ pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another) is considerable; since to begin *curvis licet, deponere cum velint*,

volunt,

volunt, is easie for any man, but the laying down will be at the Conquerours pleasure. For the wasting of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that for an *Empire* by *Constantine* in *France*) left this Land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, (a) *omni milite & florida juventutis alacritate spoliata*, being left naked of Souldiery, and robbed of the choicest flower of youth. And when we were tied to make good our undertaking in *France*, the waste of our people was so great, that to supply extremity we took *purgamenta urbium*, the dregs of Towns, (as *Curtius* saith of *Alexander*;) (b) Need hiring the *Bankrupts* by protection, as in the twenty second of *Edward* the first; and enforcing, against the rule of justice, the Judges to put *Placita eorum in respectu qui in obsequium Regis profecturi sunt*, Pleas in the behalf of such as were to go in the Kings service. And as *Tacitus* of a declined Majesty saith, *emunt militem, non legunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather than make choice of them; we made purchase of general Pardons of all that were *Utlegati, Banniti, aut de Feloniis indictati, si cum Rege transitare voluerint*, out-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Felony, in case they would go over with the King. As in the same year of the former King and in the year after were discharged out of all Prisons in the Realm to the number of ninety seven notorious Malefactors, (c) And in the eighteenth of *Edward* the second, and eighth of *Edward* the third, and twelfth of *Edward* the fourth we did the like. An army better apted by Necessity than Election to live upon the Enemy, *Quibus ob Egestatem & Flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo est*, whose indigency and former ill way of life must needs make

(a) *Beda Hist. Eccl. lib.* 1.

(b) *Ex Rot. Franciæ an.* 22 *Ed.* 1.

(c) *Ex Rot. Original. in Arch. Thesaur.*

make them ready for any mischief. In the end of this King last remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the second, the State began to be sensible of consuming Issue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the strength of *France*, set on Revenge, stood) to stay at pleasure, (for ——*arma tenenti Omnia dat qui justa negat*—— Deny the Souldiers due, You give him all you have) it was urged to him in Parliament in the (*a*) seventh of his reign, as an *errour* in his Government: whereto he answered, that they ought not to lay the cause upon him; for that together with the Crown the Wars descended unto him. And the *Chancellour* in the fourth of *Henry* the fourth, declared publickly in the Higher House, that by the mischance of War and want of reasonable *Peace*, (for I use the words of the Roll) occasioned by dissensions and private desire, the flower of *Chivalry* and Rock of *Nobless* within the Realm was in a manner consumed.

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 7 *R.* 2.

Lucan.

Nobilitas cum Plebe perit, lateque vagatur
Ensis, & à multo revocatum est pectore ferrum.

The Peer and Peasant falls, and hating rest
Bloody the Sword returns from many a breast.

Better to disburthen the state by Colony than War.

And the whole State by war had been thus subverted had not God as a mean raised that King.

But since the end of mans creation is not for the Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make men Cast-aways; the course most answerable either to *Charity*, or *Example*, (for *Rome* did by *Colonies* inlarge and confirm her *Empire*) is to transplant that we may best spare. In *Ireland* we may increase the King many Subjects, and in the *Indies*

God

God many ſervants: a world from our Forefathers lockt up by divine Providence, as only beſt to glorifie and purifie theſe Times. And as in war *conquirendus potius miles quam dimittendus*, Souldiers are rather to be liſted than disbanded; ſo *poſt bellum vires refovendæ magis quam ſpargendæ*, after war forces are rather to be cheriſhed than waſted. And thus much in anſwer of *Neceſſity*.

Anſwer to the Arguments of Profit.

Profit of war. Expence of money, Munition and men.

THe profits gained by Forraign Expeditions cannot be any wayes ſo truly eſteemed, as by ſetting down the expence of Money, Men, and Munition, by which we have made purchaſe of them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in ſequence all the Impoſitions, *Taxes* and *Loanes*, whether by general Grant, or *Prerogative* power levied of the People; ſumming after up, as I go along the times of our Princes, the number of Men, Ships, and vaſt *proviſions* of Victuals raiſed to ſupply the neceſſity and expence of War.

A ſummary of all the exactions upon this State from the Conqueſt to the end of the late Queen.

William the *Conquerour* in the entrance of his Government took of every Hide-land twelve pence a due of the Subjects to the Soveraign both before and ſince the *Conqueſt*, to defray ſuch charge as either the defence of the Land from ſpoil, or the Sea from *Piracy*, ſhould expoſe the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda Regis*, or *Hidage*, and was ſeſſed by the Hide or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera* taxation by the acre in *Rome*, yet by no rate definite with this as with another *Exaction*, taken, as the Monk of S. *Albans* (a) ſaith, *ſive per faſ ſive*

(a) *Ex Matth. Paris pag.* 8. & 15.

per

per nefas, by fair means or by foul. He passed over into *France* into the list of charge he ranked the Bishops and Abbots, sessing upon them and at their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his service, exiling many worthy men that opposed this thraldom.

William Rufus.

William Rufus anno 7. set upon the heads of so many as he mustered up for the *French* wars ten shillings a man, and so discharged them. In *an.* 9. he to the same end spoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and *Holy vessels*, and levied four *Hidages* of every Plough-land, (a) *Tributis Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians*, not only shaving, but even flaying *England* with his impositions: so that wearied with war and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipso suffocata*, *England* was quite stifled by him, and could not so much as breath. —— (b) *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regno restat Scelus?* ——What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

(a) *Ex antiq. legibus Angliæ.*

(b) *Sillius Italicus.*

(c) *Henry the first* anno 5. *magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great summ of his Kingdom, with which he passed into *France*: and by this means (d) *gravabatur terra Angliæ oppressionibus multis*, *England* was born down with many oppressions. (e) He took in the tenth year six shillings *Danegeld*. (f) And in the seventeenth *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorum magnum fuit dissidium, Anglia fuit variis depressa Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of *France*, *England* was oppressed with divers exactions, and men spoiled of their goods for no offence at all.

(c) *Ex Hist. Gualt. Gisborn.*

(d) *Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.*

(e) *Ex Hist. Mat. Westm.*

(f) *Ex Hist. Hen. Hunting.*

Of

Of King *Stephen* there need no more than the words of the *Monk* of *Gisborn*, (a) *Post annum ſextum Pax nulla, omnes partes terrebat violenta Prædatio*, after the ſixth year of his reign there was no quiet, but all parts of the Land became a prey and ſpoil to violent men. Stephen. (a) *Ex hiſt. mon. Gisborn.*

Henry the ſecond, alluding not unlike to the *Feoda* given the *Eremita* in the decline of the *Empire*, as *Salaries* by which they ſtood bound to defend the Frontiers againſt the Incurſions of the *Barbarous Nations*, continued the Policy of his *Progenitors*, who allotted the Land into ſuch and ſo many equal portions, as might ſeem competent for ſupportation of a Knight or man at Arms; from whom (as occaſion required) they received either ſervice or contribution. This Tenure, now eſteemed a Thraldom, began upon a voluntary and deſired ſubmiſſion; for who from his gift would not of the Prince accept Land upon the like conditions, ſo it toucheth not the Soveraign as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right his own? And therefore reſpecting their firſt immediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and Eſcheats a great benefit, and their attendance by Tenure in war at their own charge to the number of 60216. at the leaſt, (for the Knights Fees in *England* are no leſs) a great eaſe, ſtrength and ſecurity to his State; for they are *totidem Hoſtagia*, ſo many Hoſtages, as *Bracton* ſaith; it were a thing perillous now to alter, after ſuch a current of time and cuſtome. This King to underſtand the better his own ſtrength, *publico præcepit edicto quod quilibet Prælatus & Baro, quot Milites de eo tenerent in Capite publicis ſuis inſtrumentis* Henry 2.

instrumentis significarent, he caused it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron should notifie by publick deed how many Knightships they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, constant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subsidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the first, which was near the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The second *Scutage*, (a) which was *anno* 5. amounted to 124 *millia librarum argenti*, thousand pounds of silver; which reduced to the standard of our money five shillings the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount to near 400000 *l.* *An.* 7. (b) *Scutagium fuit assessum ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholosa*, a Scutage was assessed two Marks for the Army at *Tholouse*; which if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Laiety only, of our moneys cannot be less than 250000 *l.* The like in the next year. In *an* 11. (c) there was an Aid *pro servientibus inveniendis in exercitu*, to find men to serve in the wars, of two pence *de unaquaque libra* in every pound. And 4. *sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis*, in the four following years a penny in the pound was taken of all men, the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the fourteenth year a *Scutage* was assessed (d) *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis*, one Mark on every Fee. And anno 18. (e) *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo*, a Scutage for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the thirty fifth year of his Reign. In which year dying, (f) 900 *millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utensilia & jocalia, reliquit*, he left in money 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

(a) *Ex Gervas. Dorobernen. an.* 1159.

(b) *Ex lib. Sub. in Scrrio.*

(c) *Ex Gervas. Doroborneſ.*

(d) *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*

(e) *Ex hist. Rossens.*

(f) *Ex hist. Matth. Paris.* Richard 1.

(a) *Richard*

(a) *Richard* the first in the beginning besides *Scutagium Wallia assessum*, a Scutage assessed upon *Wales* at ten shillings, levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidy out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; (b) *Et eleemosyna titulo vitium Rapacitatis inclusit*, cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the sixth year of 150 (c) *millia marcarum argenti ad pondus Columniensium*, 150000 marks of silver to pay his ransome: as also a *Scutage* assessed at twenty shillings. In the (d) seventh he imposed for his wants a contribution called *Tenementale*. Extremity (for by his waste and imprisonment he had almost exhausted the wealth of the State) invented *nova & varia prædandi vocabula*, new and sundry words to express his exactions, as *Tacitus* (e) saith, of *Centesima & Quinquagesima*, an hundredth part and a fiftieth part, (names that since have found reception and use with us.) This was two shillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military service. He inforced the *Cistertian Monks* (f) to redeem the same year their woolls *sine Pecuniaria*, at a Fine. For his Army into *Normandy* (g) he took a *Scutage* assessed at twenty shillings. (h) And four years after of every Plow-land five shillings, and of every *Burrough* and (i) City *duas palfridos & totidem summarios*, two horses and as many summaries: and of every *Abbot* half as much. Then losing of purpose his great Seal, proclaimed that (k) *Omnes Chartæ & Confirmationes novi Sigilli impressione roborarentur*, all Charters and

(a) *Rub. libr in Scrrio.*

(b) *Ex hist. min. Matth. Paris. Rub. lib.*

(c) *Ex hist. Walt. Covntr.*

(d) *Ex Rog. Hoved. & Walt. Covnt.*

(e) *Tacit. annal. 4.*

(f) *Ex Joan. Everſdin.*

(g) *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*

(h) *Ex Walt. Covnt.*

(i) *Ex Matth. Paris.*

(k) *Ex charta origin.*

and Assurances should be confirmed by the new Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men a composition for their Liberties. This fashion was afterwards taken up by some of his Successours; as (a) of *Henry* the third, when all again were enjoyned *qui suis volebant libertatibus gaudere*, as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *ut innovarent Chartas suas de nove Regis Sigillo*, to renew their Charters from the Kings new Seal, Some reason (b) *Richard* had in the end to become a gatherer, that had not long before by accompt of *Chancellour Hubert* then *Archbishop*, spent *infra biennium undecies centena millia Marcarum argenti de Regno Anglia*, within less than two years, eleven hundred thousand Marks of silver current English money.

(a) *Ex hist. Mat. Paris p. 209.*

(b) *Ex hist. Rog. Hoveden.*

Ring John.

His brother *John* succeeding (c) took in the first of his Reign a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks. (d) For the two next years three shillings of every Plow: (e) and the year following, besides a *Scutage* as before, the fortieth part of the Revenues of the Clergy and Laiety. (f) In the fourth year he took the like *Scutage*, and the (g) seventh part of the moveable goods of the *Baronage* and *Clergy*. A *Scutage* assessed at two Marks (h) in *an.* 9. (i) The like in the sixth and seventh years twenty shillings *Scutage*; and the thirteenth part of Moveables as well of the Church as Laiety in the year following. In (k) *an.* 9. he exacted by redemption of the Concubines of the Clergy a great summ. In the eleventh (l) *extorsit tributum grave, scil.* 140 *millia librarum à viris Ecclesiasticis*, he extorted a great tribute, *viz.* 140000 pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his Army, (m) *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came upon

(c) *Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*
(d) *Ex Rog. Hoveden.*
(e) *Ex Matth. Paris.*
(f) *Lib. Rub. in Scrrio.*
(g) *Ex Matth. Paris.*
(h) *Ex lib. Rub. Scrrii.*
(i) *Ex Rad. Cogshall.*
(k) *Ex Matth. Paris.*
(l) *Wait. Coventr. & Rad. Cogshall.*
(m) *Ex Mat. Paris.*

upon the Barns of the Clergy. In (a) the twelfth a *Scutage* assessed at two marks, besides an exaction (b) of 22000 *l.* from the *Cistertian* Monks. He took (c) in the thirteenth year a *Scutage* assessed at 20 *s.* *pro exercitu Scotiæ*, and another at two marks *pro exercitu Walliæ*, &c. for his *Welch* Army; exacting (d) from the Ministers of the Church in the year following 400000 marks. (e) And in the sixteenth year *Scutagium assessum fuit pro exercitu Pictavia ad 3 Marcas*, a Scutage was assessed at three marks for the Army in *Poicton*. Thus in the space of seventeen years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impositions*.

(a) *Ex Rad. Cogshall.* (b) *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.* (c) *Ex Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Scrrio.* (d) *Mat. Paris hist. min.* (e) *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*

In the time of *Henry* the third, (f) upon the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry there was assessed fifteen *Scutages*; one at ten shillings, two at twenty, eight at two Marks, and four at forty shillings the Knights Fee. (g) The land of the inferiour sort twice taxed; first at two shillings, after at half a Mark the Plow. (h) And two Tallages upon the land of the Crown. (i) From out of the Lay Subjects moveable goods hath been taken five times: as the fortieth, the thirtieth, the twentieth and fifteenth parts; (k) and once the sixteenth of the Clergy for this King. (l) A Tenth he nine times impoſed upon the *Church*: ſix times for a year only, and by it ſelf; once accompanied with the Firſt-Fruits: once for three years; and once for five. (m) Beſides two Aides, the one moderate, the other called (n) *gravis exactio*, a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the eight hundred Marks impoſed upon (o) S. Ed-

Henry 3.

(f) *Ex Rub. lib. in Scrrio & Joan. Everſden.* (g) *Mat. Paris, & ex Rot. Clauſ. & finium an.* 12, 13, 15, & 19 *Hen.* 3. *& ex lib. chart. Cantuar. Epiſc.* (h) *Rot. Pat. anno* 8 *H.* 3. (i) *Ex. Tho. Walſingham, & Mat. Paris. Clauſ. anno* 19 *H.* 3. (k) *Ex Mat. Weſtmonaſt.* (l) *Ex ſtatuto an.* 4. *c.* 17. *Dorſ. clauſ. anno* 16 *H.* 3. *& Everſden.* (m) *Ex lib. Cantuar. Epiſc.* (n) *Ex Everſden & Paris.* (o) *Ex Matth. Paris & Everſden & Dorſ. clauſ. anno* 16 *H.* 3.

munds Bury all the other *Abbyes* were rated accordingly. (*a*) And by the accompt of *Willielmus de Middleton* (*b*) he received in the time of his Government *de exitu Judaismi* 402000 *l.* And as in all the fifty six years of his reign (excepting five) either the Church or Commonwealth were charged with contribution-money to relieve the expence of war; so were they grieved with other *Exactures*, either for Carriages, or *Victuals*, or personal attendance. In the sixteenth year the inhabitants of *Winchelsey* were enjoyned (*c*) *ut providerent decem bonas naves & magnas ad transfretandum in Pictaviam in servitium Regis*, to provide ten good and stout ships for the Kings service in *Poicton*. (*d*) And at another time twenty, *Dunwich* and *Ipswich* five a piece, and the Ports proportionable, all at their own charge. In the same year (*e*) and for the same service there was transported ten thousand quarters of wheat, five thousand of Oates, and many Bacons. The *Church* not forborn in those charges: For from *Wincheſter* (*f*) two thousand quarters of *Wheat* and *Oates*, and one thousand of Beans was taken. (*g*) The other Bishops and Clergy bearing their parts of victuals in the like *Exactions*, coming —— *ut unda supervenit undæ: acsi esset Anglia puteus inexhaustus*, as wave follows wave, as if *England* were a pit never to be drawn dry. (*h*) In the twelfth and fourteenth the King levieth Souldiers for his wars beyond Sea, collecting *pro Exercitu suo de singulis duabus Hidis*, upon every two Hides *unum hominem bonum secure*, and to bring *secum victualia* victuals with them: and those for whose service the King dispenced, & *quos Rex vult*

(*a*) *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*

(*b*) *Rad. Cistrensis, ex Eversden, Paris & lib. Chart. Cant. Archiep. anno* 8 H. 6.

(*c*) *Ex Joan. Eversden, Pat. an.* 3 E. 1. *m.* 26.

(*d*) *Rot. claus. an.* 26 *Hen.* 3.

(*e*) *Ex H. Mat. Paris. p.* 5171.

(*f*) *Ex Rot. lib. an.* 26 H. 3.

(*g*) *Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.*

(*h*) *Dors. claus. a.* 10 14 H. 3. 8. & *claus.* 12 H. 3. *m.* 2.

vult remanere in partibus suis, and such as he pleased should continue at home, to contribute victuals to those that went for forty dayes: commanding the Sheriffs (*a*) to swear all *ad Arma qui post eum remanebant in Anglia, in forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Joannis Patris sui*, to Armes, who stayed behind him in *England*, after the manner they were sworn in the time of King *John* his father; by which Ordinance of King *John* all able Subjects from Youth to decrepit Age were bound to arm themselves, and be in continual readiness, (*b*) *a sero usque ad mane* from night to morning, for so the Record is) to attend the Kings pleasure. And therefore *Henry* the third in *anno* 14. (*c*) *mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant ad exercitum Regis homines juratos ad ferum*, commanded the Sheriffs to send all those to his Army who had been so sworn, bringing with them *Loricas*, *Habergiones*, *&c.* Coats of Maile, Habergeons, *&c.* and to such as neglected this service he sent his Writs, reprehending them at first, (*d*) *jurgatorie eo quod*, *&c.* tartly for that, *&c.* and after fining them according to their abilities and Tenures. Taking (*e*) *an.* 26. of *Willihelm. de Umfreville pro quietatione passagii*, for the securing of his passage into *Gascoign* 100 Marks, and so in proportion of many others.

(a) *Clauſ. an* 14 *H.* 3. *n.* 7.

(b) *Clauſ. an.* 16 *H.* 3. *m.* 11.

(c) *Clauſ. an.* 14 *H.* 3. *m.* 9.

(d) *Clauſ. in Dorſo, an.* 15 *Hen.* 3.

(e) *Rot. finium* 26 *H.* 3. *m.* 4.

Edward the first exacted from the land of his Subjects four times *Scutage*, assessed every time at forty shillings the Knights Fee. And once an Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide, which he farmed out for ready money. Of the Rents of the Clergy he took a Tenth part twice

Edward 1.

for one year, and once for six: and the twentieth part twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for two years from *Canterbury* only.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to a bare Pension of eighteen pence a week. Of the goods of the Clergy he took the thirtieth, the fifteenth, and the fifth part once, the Moiety three times, and the Tenth seven times, whereof the *Grant* was first for two years, and then for three years, and once for six years. (a) Of the goods of the Commons the eighth, and the ninth, and the twelfth part he took once, twice severally the tenth and eleventh, the Sessors being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three times he had the fifteenth part, and once the moiety of a fifteenth. From the Clergy and Laiety together the King had granted of their Moveables a tenth, a fifteenth, and a thirtieth part. Of the Cities and Boroughs, besides a great Loan, once the seventh and eighth, and twice the sixth part. From the Merchants a twentieth, and a seventh portion once of their Commodities; imposing a new Custome of a Noble upon every Sack of Wool which he let out to Farm. And under pretence of some breach of Amity with those parts whither his Merchants traded, he seized *anno* 22. (b) all the Wools into his hands, and made of them instant Sale to the best value, leaving them upon security to a short price and a long day of payment. He took (c) the same year, to the distaste of the Pope and murmur of the Clergy, all the money gathered in *subsidium Terræ Sanctæ*, for the succour of the Holy Land, to furnish his Journeys. Upon the persons

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno* 25 E. 1. *m.* 3. *sed.*

(b) *Rot. Vascon. anno* 22 E. 1 *m.* 8.

(c) *Ex Rot. Vasco. an.* 22 E. 1. *m.* 17.

sons of his Subjects he imposed one Tallage, (a) sessed either in *communi* in general, or *per capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the *Jews*: whereof the one amounted to fifty thousand Marks. Neither were his people by continual payment (for there was but one year of intermission all his Reign) freed from attendance in their Persons. For in record there appeareth plentifully his writs to the Sheriffs: as (b) *an.* 31. *de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all *England*; and to be found and furnished by their several Countreys: calling (c) his *Earles*, *Barons* and *Knights* to personal service according to their Tenures.

(a) *Ex Rot. Vas. an.* 22 E. 1.

(b) *Rot. Pat. anno* 31 E. 1.

(c) *Ex Hist. Joan. Eversdin.*

His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the lands of his Subjects twice *Scutage*; once at two Marks, and once at forty shillings the Knights Fee. From the Revenues of the Clergy rated by the book of Tenths, he at distinct times took 4 *d.* 5 *d.* and 12 *d.* in the Mark; and once the fifteenth part of the whole. From the goods of the Clergy a Tenth for three years. And twice (d) a Loan from the Abbots and Bishops. From the Laiety (besides a Tallage of their Moveables) in Cities and Burroughs once a tenth, twice a fifteenth, and twice a twentieth part of their goods. Besides a Loan from the Commons, and ten shillings borrowed upon every Sack of Wool from Merchant Strangers, and a Noble from others. (e) From the Clergy and Laiety together of their goods a tenth, a fifteenth, and twice an eighteenth part, besides a Loane. He augmented his fathers new Customs with an Imposition of a Noble

Edward 2.

(d) *Clauf. an.* 8 E. 2. *m.* 9.

(e) *Clauf.* 16 E. 2. *Clauf. anno* 12 E. 2.

more upon every Sack of Wool. And *anno* 10. (a) *quia exitus Regni sui & terrarum*, because the profits of his Realm and dominions elsewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church and Laiety, *ad sumptus Belli sufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he must *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, spend a vast deal of money; he seiseth and increaseth an Imposition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extream Rate; and caused the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in depositu* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and seized (b) *omnes Lanas & Coria Mercatorum, data securitate Possessoribus de rationabili pretio postea solvendo*, All the Wools and Hides of the Merchants, giving security to the Owners that a reasonable price should be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Towns twelve several years *ad costos suos & sumptibus villarum*, at their own costs, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record saith) to set to Sea in his service Ships furnished *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victuals; sometimes for one moneth, as *anno* 11. (c) sometimes for four as (d) *anno* 12. and sometimes for seven as (e) *anno* 4. the number of Ships more or less as occasion required. In *anno* 17 (f) *Southampton* was charged with six, and an hundred and eighteen Sea-Towns more with rateable proportions for the Kings service. Sometimes, as *anno* 18. (g) embarguing all the Ships in any Port that were of forty Tuns or upwards,

(a) *Ex mimor. Sccrii. an.* 10 *E.* 2. *ex parte Rem. Thesaur.*

(b) *Rot. Vascon. anno* 22 *E.* 2. *m.* 13. *in fed.*

(c) *Rot. Scot. anno* 11. *m.* 17.

(d) *Rot. Scot. anno* 12. *m.* 8.

(e) *Rot. Pat. anno* 4 *E.* 2.

(f) *Dors. Claus. anno* 17 *E.* 2. *m.* 11.

(g) *Clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 34.

wards, as *an.* 20. or of fifty Tuns and upward, as *an.* 23. (a) *contra hostiles aggressus Gallorum*, against the hostile attempts of the *French*. Causing the Town of *Southampton anno* 6. (b) to build a Galley for themselves of an hundred and twenty Oares. Commanding all the Sheriffs for provision of Victual, as (c) *anno* 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. 10 provide *de Exitibus Comitatuum certum pretium*, at the charge of the County a certain Rate, to the proportion sometimes of thirty thousand five hundred *Quarters* of Corn and many Bacons, as *anno* 16. (d) and to send them to the Kings Army. As also (e) *Carretta & Carra cum Equis & Bobus*, Carts and Waggons with Oxen and Horses out of the Counties severally for the use of war. Sometimes he made the Ports to send provision themselves, as *anno* 7. (f) and not to suffer any Ships with victuals (g) *ibidem discariari*, to be there unladed, but to order them by security for those parts where the Kings Army was lodged.

And not sparing the Church, exacted (h) his three first years *Frumenta & alia victualia pro exercitu suo*, Corn and other Victuals for his Army from them.

Besides the former Charges, the Persons of Men, as well of the Nobility as meaner rank, were at their own Charge often enjoyned to serve by reason of the wars. (i) As in *an.* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 16. (k) of this King, when they were called *singulatim* man by man, as well Widows as Knights (l) and Noblemen, and such as held forty pound land according to their Tenures, (m) *sub forisfacturâ terrarum & Catallorum, Equis & Armis, sumptibus propriis,*

(a) *Ex Rot. Vascon. m.* 29.
(b) *Claus. an.* 6 E. 2.
(c) *Rot. Scot. anno* 1, 2, 3. *m.* 10. & *an.* 4. *m.* 5. & *an.* 9. & *Rot. Pat. anno* 10. *m.* 12.
(d) *Rot. Pat. an.* 16. *m.* 3.
(e) *Rot. Scot. anno* 8. *m.* 9.
(f) *Rot. Scot. Dorso, anno* 7. *m.* 8.
(g) *Dors. claus. anno* 16. *m.* 3.
(h) *Rot. Scot. anno* 1, 2, 3. *m.* 8.
(i) *Rot. Scot. anno* 8 E. 2. *Dors. Claus. anno* 9 E. 2.
(k) *Claus. an.* 16 E. 2.
(l) *Ex Dors. claus.* 7 E. 2. *m.* 7.
(m) *Claus. an.* 16. *n.* 20.

to appear with Horse and Armes, at their own charge, under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and Chattels; and to provide *de hominibus ad Arma ultra famulos suos consuetos*, men for the service besides their ordinary Servants: according to *Augustus* (a) rule, *Viri Fœminaque ex Censu coacta dare Militem*, both men and women were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this the *Clergy* was not exempted (b) *anno* 16. of this King. And out of every Town one *sumptibus propriis*, at their own charges, for forty dayes, as *anno* 15. or for 60. as *anno* 9. or *pro* 7. *Septimanis* for seven weeks, as *anno* 4. (c) Sometimes a thousand in one County, as *anno* 3. (d) Sometimes an entire Army of eighteen thousand three hundred, *an.* 11. and (e) forty eight thousand eight hundred at the charge of all the Counties *anno* 15. (f) *London sumptibus Civitatis* at the Cities charge, found 500. men for forty days *anno* 12. and the like *anno* 18. *contra insultus Regis Franciæ*, against the invasions of the King of *France*. (h) The King commanded *anno* 16. that all of forty shillings land and upwards should rateably send to his service men; (i) And *an.* 9, 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, sworn to Armes, or from sixteen to sixty, *secundum Statutum Wincestria*, according to the Statute of *Winchester*, should attend their Services. (k) And *anno* 13. injoyned all from twenty to sixty to be armed and victualled at their own charge. (l) And commanded the Sheriffs *annis* 6, 7, 8, 12, 16 and 18. to see all the able men of *England* so furnished, that *Parati sint & muniti ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint*, they should be provided and in a readiness to march

(a) Ex Paterculo de Aug.
(b) Clauſ. an. 16. m. 11. & cla. an. 15. m. 19.
(c) Rot. Scotiæ anno 3 E. 2. m. 8. Dorſo.
(d) Rot. Scotiæ an. 11. m. 16.
(e) Rot. Pat. an. 15. m. 19.
(f) Rot. Scotiæ anno 12. m. 13.
(g) Clauſ. an. 18. m. 13.
(h) Rot. Pat. an. 16. m. 27.
(i) Rot. Pat. anno 9. m. 22. Dorſ. Cla. 10. m. 25. Clauſ. anno 15. m. 13. Rot. Pat. anno 16. m. 27.
(k) Rot. Scotiæ anno 13. m. 2.
(l) Dorſ. clauſ. anno 6. m. 28. Rot. Scotiæ anno 7. m. 2. clauſ. anno 8. m. 30. clauſ. an. 16. m. 12. Rot. Scotiæ an. 12. m. 6. Rot. Pat. anno 18. m. 21.

march to the King when he ſhould call them, their weapons to be provided *ad ſumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers: and themſelves enjoyned to muſter and train every ſix weeks. If any neglected his appointed ſervice, there was ſent to the Sheriff *a* a Writ *de habenda illos coram Concilio, qui præmoniti cum venerunt in expeditione Regis*, to bring them before the Council, who knowing of it before, refuſed the expedition, as *anno* 15. 1. the parties impriſoned, and their goods ſeized into the Kings hands, as *b anno* 9. & 16. or elſe redemption by fine, as the *c* Sheriffs of *Buckingham* and *Bedford* did their men for ſix hundred Marks *anno* 15. The owner of forty ſhillings land to redeem his firſt default *d cum tertia parte Bonorum*, with the third part of his Goods; the ſecond *cum tota reſidua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *ſint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodies to be at the Kings diſpoſal; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20*l. de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20*l.* for every Hide, as *e anno* 13.

a *Rot. clauſ. anno* 15 *E.* 2. *m.* 14. *Rot. finium, anno* 15. *m.* 16.

b *Rot. clauſ. anno* 9. *Rot. Pat. anno* 16. *m.* 12.

c *Rot. clauſ. anno* 15. *m.* 19.

d *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13 *E.* 2. *m.* 1.

e *clauſ. an.* 13. *m.* 20.

I have the longer inſiſted upon this King, that *tanquam in ſpeculo*, as in a glaſs we may behold the intolerable miſeries of the Nobility and Commons inſeparably accompanying the times of War.

Edward the third charged *f* the lands of his Subjects twice forty ſhillings of every Knights Fee; and five pound ſixteen ſhillings of every Pariſh in the forty eighth year of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the *Commons* he took once the ninth part, and fifteenth of Forreſt and Waſte; twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one year, and

Edward 3.
f *Pat. an.* 48 *E.* 3. *m.* 10.

and twice for three years: and once the twentieth part of all moveables, and thirty thousand Sacks of Wooll upon conditions. Of the *Burroughs* and *Cities*, four Tenths, and one for three years. From the *Lords* the tenth Sheaf, Lamb, and Fleece: who with the Bishops and Knights grant twenty thousand Sacks of Woll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* security themselves by Bond to the *Earl* of *Brittain*, to whom their Soveraign stood engaged. Of the *Clergie* alone one Tenth for four years, three for three years, and one for one year. Besides a Contribution in the twelfth of his Reign, seizing in the same year all the Goods of the *Cluny* and *Cistertian Monks*. Of the *Church* and *Laity* together he received six times the tenth of all their Moveables. From the *Merchants* and State a Subsidy of Wooll for three years. Imposing *anno* 33. 26 *s.* 8 *d.* upon every Sack transported: which doubled the Impositions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for six years to forty shillings: and in *anno* 38. (being the year he resumed his Stile of *France*) to 46 *s.* 4 *d.* the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poundage 6 *d.* of all Commodities inward and outward and enjoyning the Merchants for every Sampler of Wooll transported to return in forty shillings *Bullion* to his Mint. *a* Himself becoming Merchant of all the Tinne in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall anno* 12. *in auxilium supportationis onerum Belli*, to help him bear the burthen of his wars: assessing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of 4 *d.* severally *anno* 51. Besides in *b anno* 20. he took a Loan of the Bishops, Abbots, Justices, & *aliis potentioribus Regni, de diversis pecuniarum Summis, inter Summas de* 1000 *l.* & 40 *l.* and other

a *Ex Rot. Alman. an.* 12. *m.* 17.

b *Claus. an.* 20 *E.* 3. *m.* 22. *in dorso.*

other wealthy men of his Realm, in ſeveral ſumms of money, betwixt the ſumms of 1000 *l.* and 40 *l.*

In the firſt of his Reign *a* he commandeth all the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his ſervice, *ſumptibus propriis & duplici Eskeppamento*, at their own proper charge, and with double Skippage, and to provide as many as they can of ſixty Tun and upwards. And the year following *b* layeth the like charge upon ſeventy ſix Port-Towns for all Ships of forty Tun and more. And *an.* 10. *c* the like at their own charge, beſides a contribution of money, *d* for payment whereof the Officers are commanded, *ut eas per diſtrictiones & alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compellent*, to force it by diſtraining, and what other puniſhments they ſhall find expedient. Injoyning ſuch Merchants of *London*, *qui ex tranſmarinis paſſagiis lucra adquirunt*, who had traffick in forreign parts, to furniſh Ships for war at their own Charge. *e* And *anno* 13. the *Cinque-Ports* ſet out to ſea thirty Ships, and maintain them during the ſervice, half at their own, half at the Councils charge. Fourſcore Ships being furniſhed and defrayed by the *Out-Ports*, the Admiral directed to embargue all other Ships for the Kings ſervice. *f* And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in *Parliament*) receive no further relief, than that the King would not have it otherwiſe than before. *g*

a *Clauſ. an.* 1 *E.* 3. *Rot. Sco.* *anno* 1 *E.* 3.

b *Clauſ. an.* 2 *E.* 3.

c *Clauſ. an.* 10.

d *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *m.* 9. & *Rot. Alman. an.* 12. *m.* 12.

e *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13 *E.* 3. *m.* 15.

f *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10 *E.* 3.

g *Rot. Alman. an.* 1 *E.* 3. *m.* 2.

For Proviſion of his Arms, the King took at one time, and at a rate of loſs to the Subject, nineteen thouſand quarters of Grain, two thouſand two hundred Oxen ſalted, and three thouſand Bacons;

cons; besides of other Provisions an infinite quantity. *a* The like very frequent all his Reign, *pro guerris necessariis, ubi id magis commode fieri poterat*, for the necessities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

a *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *m.* 17.

The Persons of all his meaner Subjects from sixteen to sixty he causeth *b* to be armed in readiness *ad præmonitionem* 5. *dierum*, at five dayes warning; the *Decrepite* to contribute *ad expensa præmissorum*, towards the expences of the rest: and to arrest the Bodies of the disobedient, that *de ipsis tanquam de inimicis sumat vindictam*, they might be dealt withal as enemies. *c* The Gentry and Nobility supplying the King in his wars, and at their own charge, *d* sometimes with seven or eight hundred men at Arms, and two or three thousand *Archers*, as *anno* 13. with other proportions at divers years following. And the Bishops ordered *e* to furnish *Armis & Equis competentibus*, serviceable Arms and Horses, so many as occasion required: and their Persons (together with the Lay Nobility) commanded *f quod sint parati Equis & Armis & toto servitio debito*, with Horse and Arms and all necessary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

b *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1. *m.* 2.

c *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1.

d *Parla. an.* 13 *E.* 3. *Parla. anno* 14 *E.* 3.

e *Rot. Franc. anno* 46.

f *Claus. an.* 1 *E.* 3. *m.* 1.

These wars (which as *Edward* the third professeth himself in Parliament, *g* could not without his great danger and loss of *Honour* be maintained, unless by perpetual Aid from the Subjects) were so grievous to them, that in *anno* 22. they complain in Parliament of the miseries they underwent thereby: As of their Aids advanced to forty shillings Fine, that by law should be but twenty shillings. Their setting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victuals without payment;

g *Parl. an.* 22 *E.* 3. *n.* 9.

ment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their Woolls by way of Subsidy sixty thousand pound yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of two thousand Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redress of their Complaint, nor the State one year discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

Richard succeeding his Grandfather declareth both *a anno* 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergy and Laity took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the moiety: And had *anno* 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a fifteenth and a half of either of them yearly for the term of life. From out of the Burroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6 *d.* in the pound, and once 12 *d.* And for every Tun of Wine, and such Commodities, for two years six pence, doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three years after. The Custom of Wolls, *&c.* by *Edward* the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his Son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to twenty two shillings eight pence, which singly for eight years he had granted unto him, besides once for three years, and once for four, having it after improved to thirty four shillings four pence, and again to forty three shillings four pence the Sack. Richard 2. a *Parl. an.* 2, & 14. *Rot.* 2. *n.* 2.

The

The summ of one of these Subsidies in *anno* 14. amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pound. From out of the goods of the Clergie he had eight Tenths and a half; and one out of those and the Laiety together; besides a Loan *anno* 5. of sixty thousand pound. By the poll or heads of all his people from above fifteen years, he collected twice a Contribution, assessed proportional from the *Begger* to the *Duke*: Besides in strength of *Prerogative* only, of every Ship and Fisherman six pence the Tun: the like of *Newcastle* Coals, and of every Last of Corn inwards or outwards the like summ.

To furnish his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horses, Armour, Cattel. (*a*) *Hinc factus est suis Subditis invisus*, Hereupon he came to be hated by his People, saith the Bishop of *London*. And so it seemed: For at his deposing, it was one of the objected Articles against him.

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno 2 R. 2. m. 3.*

He the first year of his Reign imposed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Ancestors had done, a personal service *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergie should array *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with serviceable Horses and Arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty, *& eos in Millenis & Centenis poni faciant*, & cause them to be entred into Regiments and Companies. And two years after commanded all according to their Tenures by service to fit themselves *Equis & Armis*, with Horse & Arms to attend the wars. But these the courses of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the most part ever supplyed in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to serve him with so many men, and so long, and at such a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which

which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did the State labour continually all his time; for his Treasury being wastefully emptied, was, as *Tacitus* saith of *Tiberius*, (*a*) *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence it was that often in this Kings time (*b*) the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

(a) *Tacit. lib.* 2.

(b) *Rot. Parl. annis* 3, 4, & 5 *R.* 2.

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartless People, answered them as *an.* 4. That their Petition and his Honour could not consist together. (*c*) They again plead extream poverty, in barr of further relief; complaining that good money was transported, and the State enforced to use base; and that the price of Wooll by wars (to their utter impoverishing) was fallen, and that the Kings want was only the ill goverment of his Revenues; and therefore crave to have his present Officers removed: and very hardly would be drawn any more to tax themselves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their money should be received, expended, and accounted for to themselves, and by Treasurers of their own election; and are content to lend in the end; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachful weight of these their many Burthens.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 1 *H.* 4. *n.* 32.

Henry the fourth in thirteen years out of the Henry 4. land of his people received twice relief; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aid of the moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every twenty pound throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons four times a Tenth, besides one for three years, and the like one and a half for two. By several grants and years five

Fifteens,

Fifteens, besides one for two and one for three years. Out of Staple Commodities of Woolls, Fells, *&c.* one Subsidy for one year, four for two apiece, and one for three years. A Poundage at 8 *d.* once, four times twelve pence, whereof the last was for two years. The like number and years of the Tunnage, the first only rated at two shillings, the rest at three shillings the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a moiety; as also of every stipendary Minister, Frier, and such meaner of persons six shillings eight pence apiece. Besides all these, of all he took *anno* 8. a (*a*) Contribution *ita gravis*, so heavy, that it was granted *ea conditione, ne trahatur in Exemplum, & ut Evidentia post datum Computum cremarentur*, upon this condition, that it should not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences should be burnt.

(a) *Hist. Tho. Walsingham.*

Henry 5. Next him succeeded his Son *Henry* the fifth; in whose nine years Reign I find no charge imposed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received six times the tenth and the fifteenth entirely, and once two thirds only of Staple wares; a Subsidy once for four years, and after for life: three shillings Tunnage, and twelve pence poundage for the like terms as the former Subsidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergy. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellor* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleness and Poverty of the People by reason of wars and scarcity of money, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *totidem fecit Monumenta victoriæ*, raised himself so many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redress and ease of those

those miseries (as *Livy* saith of an excellent Soldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace because he knew he could overcome. And lest in the ninth year of his Reign a peaceable succession and *Heir*, *nimium felix malo suo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majestate præter speciem nominis*, of his Fathers Greatness more than the specious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factious Ambitious Kindred, to work themselves into popular Favour, and himself into Contempt: which was soon done by leading the easie King by Expence into Extremity, and the People into Burdens. For besides the Resumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpose plotted to make a consumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted six pence in the pound *anno* 14. and doubled twice that valuation, not only on all lands purchased from the entrance of *Edward* the first, but of all Free-hold and Coppy-hold under 200*l.* and two in twenty of all above. He further imposed first six shillings eight pence, and then twenty shillings upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had six tenths, whereof one for three years, besides three moieties, and one third; of fifteens three halfs, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a three years grant. Besides these former, out of the Woolls he had 37107*l.* raised by a moiety of a tenth and fifteenth, and again of all goods six shillings eight pence in the pound. Of the Merchant, of Subsidies rated as in former times, he had them by grant once but for a year; Henry 6.

the like doubled for two, and trebled for three and a half. This Subsidy advanced to thirty three shillings four pence of *Denisons*, and fifty three shillings four pence of *Aliens*. The Sack of Wooll was twice granted for four years at a time, and *anno* 31. for term of the Kings life. Besides a Subsidy aloft of *Aliens* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to six shillings eight pence he took in his eighteenth year. And after the Rates of his Fathers time he had it first thrice by his several grants and years, then as often for two years, and again by a new grant for five years, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergie he had besides one half of *Dismes*, four entire tenths. And by the State in general *an.* 31. two thousand Archers maintained for half a year at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a householder sixteen shillings apiece, if none six pence. And *anno* 27. six shillings eight pence of every such Stranger, and twenty pence of their Clerks. *An.* 31. he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants meer *Aliens*, and a third less of *Denizons*, and twenty shillings of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The first *Monopolies* I find were grounded upon the extremities of these times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genua*, had by grant for eight thousand pound the sole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Southampton* had all *Allome* for the like summ. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoverished People were enforced to petition redress; for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. summoned only,) the Kings Coffers were so empty, and the yearly Revenues so short, as the Lord Treasurer

Nota *First Monopolie.*

Treasurer was constrained * *an.* 11. to complain in Parliament of the one, and declared there the other to want thirty five thousand pound of the needful expence, as the best motive to work a Relief from the Common-wealth: which was by the people in part effected. (*a*) But by *anno* 18. the debts were swoln again so great, that the Parliament was reinforced not only to see them, but to support and victual his household. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign all war and waste: and in the end, as one saith of (*b*) *Lepidus*, *à Militibus & à fortuna deserebatur*, being forsaken both of Souldiers and Fortune, he was left a while to a disgraced life; *spoliatus quam tueri non poterat dignitate*, and despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able to maintain.

* *Rot. Parl. an.* 11 H. 6.

(*a*) *Rot. Parli an.* 18 *Hen.* 6: *n.* 38.

(*b*) *Ex Patterculo.*

Edward the fourth, (*c*) besides two resumptions not only of the Grants of such Kings as he accounted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but also of those made by (*d* himself, and that Sea of profit that by infinite *Attaintures* flowed daily into his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal only a Tenth of their yearly possessions, and of the Commons six Tenths, three quarters; and the like proportion of Fifteens: A *Benevolence* in *anno* 14. which (*e*) *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And charged them (*f*) *anno* 12. with wages of his Archers to a summ of 5 1117 *l.* Of the Merchant he had Tonnage and Poundage for term of life. Besides of Strangers, as well *Denizons* as others, a Subsidy the (*g*) twenty second year of his Reign. Leaving his Kingdom in the next to the few dayes of his son *Edward* the fifth. For,

Edward 4.

(*c*) *Rot. Parl. an.* 2, & 8 *E.* 4.

(*d*) *Placita Coronæ.*

(*e*) *Chron. Fabiani.*

(*f*) *Rot. Parl. anno* 12 *E.* 4. *n.* 8.

(*g*) *Rot. Parl.*

Edward 5.

Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultra
Esse sinunt.—The Fates only shewed him to the world, and took him away again.

Richard 3. *Richard* his Brother succeeded, *homo ingeniosissime nequam, & facundus malo publico*, a man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of Art to beguile the people. He to make a just semblance of his unjust entry, besides his Act of Parliament full of dangerous Untruths, dissembled the part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons believe by a Statute, to which he gave first form, as life, discharging them for ever from all exactions called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *'Ditare magis esse Regium quam ditescere*, that it was more King-like to enrich his Subjects, than to grow rich himself. Whereas he did but lively imitate *Nero*, that took away the law *Manlia de vectigalibus*, only *ut gratiosior esset populis*, to ingratiate himself the more with the people. And so all his short Reign I find recorded but once any Tax upon the people, and that was Tenths granted by the Clergie of both Provinces.

Henry 7. *Henry* the seventh succeeding, resumed in the third of his Reign most of the grants of Office made by the Usurper or his Brother, and assessed upon the land only of his Subjects but one Aid in *anno* 19. out of their Goods and Lands a tenth peny, and of their Goods only three times the Tenth, five Fifteens, besides a Tenth and Fifteenth arising to 120000*l.* He took three Subsidies, whereof the last was not above 36000*l.* (*a*) and one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alderman being 300*l.* and the entire summ of the City of *London* 9688*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* Of the *Clergie* he had twice the Tenth, and 25000*l.*

(a) *Fabian.*

by

by way of *Subsidy.* (a) And of them and the Commons two Loans; the City of *Lond.* rated at 6000 *l.* the other not definite in proportion, but so assessed as Commissioners and the Lenders could agree.

(a) *Ex litera missa Abbatiis. Barking manu Regis H. 7.*

And as well to ease the expence of wars, as issue of the good money going over to *Bullen,* (b) he stamped an allayed Coin then usually termed *Dandeprats:* A course that necessity after enforced his Son and Successors to practise, and is an apparent *Symptome* of a consumed State. But that whereby he heaped up his mass of Treasure, ((c) for he left in Bullion four millions and a half, besides his Plate, Jewels, and rich attire of house) was by sale of Offices, redemption of Penalties, dispencing with Laws, and such like, to a yearly value of 120000 *l.*

(b) *Ex litera Ducis Norfolciæ.*

(c) *Ex lib. Acquit. int. Regem & Dudly R. C.*

His Successor, reaping the fruit of his Fathers labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his first two years; taking within the compass of his other thirty four three Tenths of the Commons, four Fifteens, six Subsidies, whereof that *an.* 4. amounted to 16000 *l.* and that *anno* 7. 110000 *l.* *Tonnage* he had and *Poundage* once for a year, and after for term of life. Of the Clergie four Tenths by one grant, and three by several, every of them not less than 25084 *l.* Of *Subsidies* he had one of the *Province* of *Canterbury,* another of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be taxed according to the rate of their wages. In *anno* 22. they granted a moiety of all their Goods and Lands, payable by equal portion in five years, every part arising to 95000 *l.* And not long after he had added 150000 *l.* to the yearly Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy

Henry 8.

Churches, if Gods blessing could have accompanied so foul an Act. And as these former Collections he grounded upon Law, so did he many upon *Prerogative*: As *Benevolences* and Loans from the Clergie and Commons. Of the first there were two remarkable, that in *anno* 17. acted by Commissioners, who as themselves were sworn to Secrecy, so were they to swear all those with whom they conferr or contract. The Rates directed by instructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20 *l.* and the fourth under. And although the Recusants (whether from Disobedience or Inability) are threatned with Convention before the Council, Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods: yet in the (a) *Design* Original under the Kings hand, it hath so fair a name as an *Amicable* Grant. The other about (b) *an.* 36. exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, Land from forty shillings to 20 *l.* 8 *d.* in the pound, and of all above 12 *d.* And amongst the many Loans, there is none more notorious than that of *an.* 14. (c) which was 10 *l.* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utensils, and Land from 20 *l.* to 300 *l.* and twenty marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to stop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of such Loans, (d) the Parliament in *an.* 21. acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal or *Letter Missive*.

(a) *Ex originali signat. manu Regis.*

(b) *Ex originali Instructionis.*

(c) *Ex instruct. originali an.* 14 *H.* 8.

(d) *Rot. Parl. an.* 21 *H.* 8.

Edward 6. *Edward* the sixth his Son, besides Tonnage and Poundage for life, *an.* 1. received of his Lay-Subjects six Fifteens, and of both three Subsidies, leaving one of the Temporalty ungathered: which his Sister *Mary* remitted in *an.* 1. of her reign; yet

Q. Mary.

after

after (incited by the *French* King succouring her Rebels, and suffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purposely to be hither transported, as also to side the quarrel of *Philip* her husband against him) being drawn into wars, she was inforced to press upon her people, who besides the Loan in *an.* 3. and Tonnage and Poundage *an.* 1. for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*, took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subsidies.

Her Sister of happy memory succeeding, besides divers Loans of her people and others in forreign parts, (as *anno* 5. when *William Herle* was dispatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for six years great summs of money, the like *anno* 18. from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the assurance also of many of her chiefest Councellors) had by grant of her Subjects thirty eight Fifteens, twenty Subsidies of the Commons, and eighteen of the Clergie. All which together rose to a summ of two Millions and 800000 *l.* Q. Elizabeth.

HAving thus far (with as light a hand as I could) drawn down the many and mighty burdens of the Common-wealth, if but with a touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it will with much more life and lustre express the Figure of wars Misery. (*a*) The Credit of Kings it hath brought to so low an ebb, that when by not borrow, but upon surety and extream interest.

Princes extremities beyond the ease of their people by reason of wars.

Credit of Kings so much impaired, that they could

(*a*) *Matth. Paris.*

force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collateral security, and extream Interest. As *Edward* the third in the Patent to (*b*) *William de la Poole* confesseth that *propter defectum pecuniæ negotia sua fuerunt periculosissime retardata*, for want of money his affairs were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record) and the honour of him and his Royal Army *magnæ fuit depressioni patenter expositus, & progressus non sine dedecore suo perpetuo impeditus*, he was brought to a manifest low condition, and his proceeding to his great dishonour had been constantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well supplyed him with the credit of his Security, as with the best ability of his own Purse. For which service he honoured him and his posterity with the degree of *Barones*, and five hundred pound land of inheritance.

(b) *Rot. Pat. anno* 13 *E.* 3. *m.* 13.

Nota.

The interest of *Henry* 3. *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras ascenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Angliæ Desolatio & Ruina*, came to more than a hundred pound a day, so that present ruine and desolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergie as the People.

Queen *Mary* (*a*) borrowed in *Flanders* at fourteen in the hundred, besides *Brocage* upon collateral security.

(a) *Ex Instruct. Thomæ Gresham, anno* 1557.

The late *Queen* was enforced (*b*) to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *London's* assurance, as before, and with her (*c*) own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A course more moderate than either that of the first *William*, that took out of *Churches* such money as several men had committed thither for more

(b) *Ex Instruct. Willielm. Herle* 16. *Augus. an.* 5 *Eliz. Similiter.*

(c) *Thomæ Gresham.* 1563 & 76.

security:

ſecurity: (a) or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to repair the waſte of his *Italian* wars, went in perſon to *Barcilona*, to ſeize into his hands a Maſs of money called *Depoſitum Tabulæ*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But theſe are not the conditions of Princes of our times only: for in the lives of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Veſpaſian*, *Suetonius* of them ſeverally writeth, *Exhauſtus & egenus Calumniis rapiniſque intendit animum*, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Pernicioſa res eſt in Imperante tenuitas*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing; and as *Theodoricus* ſaid, *Periculoſiſſimum animal eſt Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the moſt dangerous creature living.

(a) *Ex litera Edw. Lee orat. Regis H. 8. in Hiſp. anno 28.*

Kings enforced to abate their hoſpitality.

It hath abated the Regalities of Houſes; *an.* 16. of *Richard* the ſecond and 18. (b) of *Henry* 6. when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expeditiſſima eſt ratio augendi Cenſus detrahere Sumptibus*, the readieſt way to raiſe the Revenue is to take down Expences,) they have much leſſened their Hoſpitality; their Tables being either defrayed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the ſixth, or as *Henry* the third, when by neceſſity (c) *ita conſueta Regalis Menſæ hoſpitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut (poſtpoſita ſolita verecundia) cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris ſatis humilibus hoſpitia quæſivit & prandia*; the wonted hoſpitality of the Kings Table was ſunk ſo low, that (without farther ſhame) he many times lodged and dietted with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Perſons.

(b) *Ex Rot. Par.* 18 *H.* 6.

(c) *Ex hiſt. majori Matth. Paris.*

It

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Dominions.

It hath caused our Kings to *sell* and alienate the *possessions* of the Crown: as *Henry* the third, (a) who gave to *Edward* his son *Licentiam impignorandi terram Vasconiæ*, leave to pawn the *Duchy* of *Gascoign*; And caused himself not long after by the like occasions, to sell for 300000*l.* (except some pittances reserved) the (b) entire *Signiory* of *Normandy*. What our late Mistris and her Father did, is yet fresh in memory. But this mischief hath trenched deep into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subjects, when Princes to repair the breach of their own Revenues, have often *resumed* the *possessions* of their people; as (c) *Edward* the second *an.* 5, 8, & 10. *Omnes donationes per Regem factas ad damnum & diminutionem Regis & Coronæ suæ*, all the Grants made by the King to the lessening and prejudicing of the King and his Crown. (d) *Richard* the second *anno* 1. did the like of all Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grandfather, and recalled all Patents dated since the fortieth of *Edward* the third. Thus did *Henry* 5. (e) *an.* 1. and (f) *Hen.* 6. in the twenty eighth of his Reign, *Edward* 4. in *anno* 3. and 12. And *Hen.* 7. in *an.* 3. with all Offices of his Crown granted either by the *Usurper* or his Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since as well by reason of State as Rules of best Government, the Revenues and Profits (g) *quæ ad sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent*, which belong to the sacred Patrimony of the Prince, should remain firm and unbroken.

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno* 51 *H.* 3. *m.* 17.

(b) *Ex contract. orig. & Hist. Norman.*

(c) *Rot. Vasc.* 5 *E.* 2. *Rot. finium an.* 8. *Rot. cui titulus, ex tract. de donationib. a.* 9. & 10 *E.* 2.

Kings enforced to make Resumption of their Lands.

(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 1 *R.* 2.

(e) *Rot. Parl. anno* 1 *Hen.* 5. *n.* 12.

(f) *Rot. Parl. anno* 28 *H.* 6. & *E.* 4.

(g) *Ex legibus Theodos. & Valentinian. in Codice.*

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Jewels.

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our Princes have been so near beset, as with *Nerva*

and

and *Antonius* the *Emperours* to *sell* and *pawn* their *Jewels*. The Archbishop of *York* had power from *Henry* the third *an.* 26. (*a*) (in wars beyond Sea) *impignorandi Jocalia Regis ubicunque in Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda*, to pawn the Kings Jewels any where in *England* to raise money. (b) *Edward* the first sendeth *Egidius Audevar ad Jocalia sua impignoranda*, to pawn his Jewels. (c) *Edward* the third pawneth his Jewels to pay the *L. Beaumont* and the Strangers their wages in war. The *Black Prince* was constrained to break his Plate into Money to pay his Souldiers.

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno* 26 *H.* 3. *m.* 1. *Similiter an.* 56 *H.* 3. *in* 21. *m.*

(b) *Rot. Pat. claus. an.* 2 *E.* 1. *m.* 7.

(c) *Claus. an.* 1 *E.* 3.

(d) *Tho. Walsingham.*

(e) *Richard* the second pawned *Vasa aurea & diversa Jocalia*, Vessels of Gold and divers Jewels to Sir *Robert Knowles*, (f) *Henry* the fourth *anno* 3. to a Merchant for money *invadiavit Tabellam & Trisellas suas Argenteas de Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and Stools of Silver which he had from *Spain*. (g) *Henry* the sixth *giveth* and selleth to the *Cardinal* of *Winchester* and others *an.* 10, 12, *and* 29. (*h*) many parcels of his rich Jewels. And the late *Queen* in the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the like with many in the Tower.

(e) *Ex origin. de anno* 6 *R.* 2. *Rot.* 17.

(f) *Pat. an.* 3 *H.* 4. *m.* 3.

(g) *Pat. an.* 10 *Hen.* 6. *Pat. anno* 12 *H.* 6. *m.* 13.

(h) *Pat. an.* 29 *H.* 6. *m.* 20.

Kings enforced to pawn their Regal Crown.

And Extremity hath yet stretched some of our Kings to so high a strain of Shift, that *Edward* the third (i) *invadiavit magnam Coronam Angliæ*, pawned his Imperial Crown three several times; *an.* 17. *in partibus transmarinis* in forraign parts, and twice to Sir *John Wesenham* his Merchant, first in the (*k*) twenty fourth, and after (*l*) *an.* 30. in whose custody it remained eight years. To *Henry Bishop* of *Winchester* *Henry* the fifth *invadiavit magnam Coronam aurea*,

(i) *Pat. Pars* 1. *an.* 17 *E.* 3.

(k) *Pat. an.* 24. *m.* 21.

(l) *Claus. an.* 30 *E.* 3. *Com. de Tur. Hill.* 38 *E.* 3. *ex parte Rem. Regis.*

ream, gaged his Imperial Crown of Gold in the fifth of his Reign. And when *Henry* the third had laid to gage (a) *omnia Insignia Regalia*, all his Robes and Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of redelivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Jocalia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the Gold and Jewels belonging to the Shrine of S. *Edward* the *Confessour*, (A course more moderate than by force to have taken, as *William* the *Conquerour* did the *Chalices* and *Shrines* of other *Churches*, or as (b) *Clement* the seventh, who to pay the Souldiers of *Charles* the fifth melted the Consecrated Vessels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, constrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low strain, (c) *Pauper sum, omni destitutus Thesauro; necesse habeo ut me juvetis: nec aliquid erigo nisi per gratiam*: I am poor, and have no Treasure left; ye must needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your meer love and courtesie: And turning to the Abbot of *Ramsey*, to say, *Amice, obnixe supplico quatenus me juvas mihi centum libras conferendo*, My friend, I beseech thee for Gods sake to help me with an hundred pound: adding withall *majorem Eleemosynam fore sibi juvamen conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti*, that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, than to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waste of these times and want of those Princes I may truly with the *Satyrist* say,

(a) *Pat. an. 5 H. 3. m. 23. & similiter an. 9. Rot. Pat. an. 51 H. 3. m. 17. & 18.*

(b) *Ex historia Guicciardini.*

(a) *Ex hist. S. Albani.*

Ossa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.

Thou seest the Bones of Kings spoil'd of their Marrow.

It

IT now reſteth by ſome few particulars to obſerve with what Wealth we have returned home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; ſince no motives are ſo powerful to the Common greedy People as the hopes of gain, which will eaſily enforce them

In place of ſpoil the Souldiers return oppreſſed with extream Beggery.

(a) *Ire ſuper gladios, ſuperque Cadavera patrum,*
Et caſos calcare Duces, ———

(a) *Lucan. de Bello Civili lib. 7.*

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers Graves,
And ſpurn their ſlaughter'd Captains——

In the Expeditions of *Henry* the third, their purchaſes were ſo great, that the (b) *Londoners* were more grieved at the intolerable *Beggeries* that the King and his Army brought back, than for the expence of their own moneys: For

(b) *Mat. Paris pag.* 580.

Cum labor in damno eſt creſcit mortalis egeſtas,

When Toil brings Loſs, Begg'ry muſt needs increaſe.

The ſame King, although called in by the Nobility of *France* (c) in Faction againſt their Maſter, returned no better rewarded than *Conſumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Militibus innumerabilibus vel Morti datis vel infirmitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam redactis paupertatem*, with the having ſpent an infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Souldiers without

(c) *Hiſt. Mat. Paris p.* 1358.

out number being either slain, or sickly, o
maimed, or half-starved, or else reduced to ex
treame poverty.

Innocentius the *Pope* repayed the expence o
Henry the third and his people in his *Sicilian* Ser
vice with no better wages than this Scoffe, Tha
England was (a) *Putens inexhaustum quem nul
lus poterat exsiccare*, a Well not to be empti
which no man could draw dry. What the suc
ceeding times afforded may be well gathered ou
of the many Petitions in Parliament, in the twen
ty second of *Edward* the third, the fourth and se
venth of *Richard* the second, the eighth of *Henry*
the fifth, and tenth of *Henry* the sixth, ever com
plaining of the extream Beggery the people
brought home, and desiring some speedy Relief.

(a) *Mat. Paris pag. 909.*

The Treasure (b) *Henry* the eighth spent in
aid of *Maximilian* about recovery of *Naxon
nullum aliud factum nisi damnum & dedecu
peperit*, brought him nothing else but Loss and
Dishonour. For the *Emperour* having his turn
served, delivered contrary to Contract, that
City to the *French*, threatning to Confederate
with them, *ni Rex ei continuo persolveret*, un
less the King would forthwith pay him down
a great summ of money; believing (as the
words are) *Minis & terrore ab hoc Rege pe
cuniam posse haberi*, that this King would part
with his money upon threatnings and great
words. For the great Army of this King sent
over into *France*, and the Million almost of
Crowns he supplied the *Emperour* and *Duke*
of *Bourbon* with in their wars of *Millan*, his
People enduring new and unheard of Taxes at
home, and his Souldiers great Extremity abroad,

(b) *Ex lit. Cardin. missi ad Card. Sodrin.*

he was himself at the last of all, (their ends effected) having spent the Treasure of his Father, and the Bounty of his Subjects, forsaken and left as the Pasquil painted him, *inter Mayſem, Chriſtum & Mahumetem*, betwixt *Moſes*, *Chriſt* and *Mahomet*, with this word, *Quo me vertam neſcio*, Which way to turn me I know not. For two Millions of (a) *Crowns* bestowed in purchase of *Tournay*, not without suit of his own, he delivered it with little or no recompence: and rated his potential Interest of *France* at no greater Summ than an Annuity (*b*) of 100000 Crowns. What from the thirtieth of this King until the last of his son *Edward* the sixth for (*c*) 3173478 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.* spent at Sea and Land in Forraign wars, this State received of inrichment, it seemeth so mean, as not worthy any place either in Story or Accompts.

(a) *Ex Inſtruct. Rich. Wingfield.*

(b) *Ex lit. Tho. Wolſey Epiſc. Lincoln.*

(c) *Ex computo in Archivis Rob. Com. Salisb.*

Until the late *Queen* was drawn into wars, she had in Treasure 700000 *l.* but after she was once intangled, it cost her before the thirtieth of her Reign 1517351 *l.* at which time she was but entering into the vastness of her future Charge: For the annual expence of 126000 *l.* in the *Low-Countries*, from 1587. until 1593. the yearly disbursement for (*d*) *Flushing* and the *Brill* 28482 *l.* the debts of the States 800000 *l.* and the Aides of the *French* King since he attained to that Crown to above 401734 *l.* was after that time. Thus by reason of war, besides Taxes upon her People to the Summ of two Millions, and eight hundred thousand pounds by Subsidies, Tenths and Fifteens, she hath spent of her Lands, Jewels and Revenues an infinite proportion.

(d) *Ex tranſlat. an.* 1558.

As

As for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in *Spain*, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* (*a*) defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000 *l.* And our times of most advantage by Prizes between (*b*) *anno* 30, and 34 of the *Queen*, wherein we received but 64044 *l.* defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same years to 275761 *l.* As to the greatest Loss, expence of *Christian* Blood, it may well suffice to bemoan with * *Horace*,

(a) *Ex computo deliberat. Domino Thesaur. Burleigh.*

(b) *Ex computo Joannis Hawkins Thesaur. Naviæ.*

* *Hor. Epo.* 7.

Parumne Campis atque Neptuno superfusum est
Latini sanguinis?
Neque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar, feris.

Is there as yet so little Latine Blood
Spilt on the Fields and Floods?
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find
So cruel to their kind.

Forraign Dominions alwaies charge, no benefit.

THe last motive from Utility is increase of Revenues to the publick Treasury by addition of Forreign *Dominions*. Which can receive no answer so full of satisfaction, as to instance the particular Summs, exhausted in every Age to retain them. Beginning first with the *Duchie* of *Normandy*: For retention whereof *William* the *Conquerour* from hence, (as the (*c*) Author saith) laden *Thesauris innumeris*, with unaccountable Treasure, exacted *sive per fas sive per nefas*, *in Normanniam transfretavit*, gathered together by hook or by crook, wafted

Example in Normandy.

(c) *Mat. Par.*

over

over into *Normandy*. His Son (a) *ad retinendam Normanniam, Angliam excoriavit*, to retain *Normandy* flayed off *Englands* skin. To the ſame end by (b) *Henry* the firſt, *Anglia fuit bonis ſpoliata*, *England* was deſpoiled of its Goods. His (c) Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exercitu Normanniæ*, a Scutage for his army in *Normandy* three times at a high rate: and was inforced then againſt incurſions of the *French* to build and man (d) thirteen Caſtles *de novo & integro*, intirely new.

(a) *Ex legibus antiquis.*
(b) *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*
(c) *Ex lib. Rubro.*
(d) *Ex lib. Pipall.*

Richard the firſt (e) exacted heavily upon his people, *ut potentes homines Regis Franciæ ſibi conciliaret, ut terram propriam Normanniæ tutaretur*, therewith to make himſelf friends amongſt the moſt powerful Courtiers of *France*, ſo to keep quietly his poſſeſſions in *Normandy*.

(e) *Rad. Cogſhall.*

King *John* (f) as wearied with the Charge neglected it: And his Son (g) feeling a burden more than benefit, reſigned his intereſt there for a little Money. When it was again reduced by *Henry* the fifth, (h) the judgement in Council was, That the keeping of it would be no leſs of expence than to war forth for all *France*. In the quiet poſſeſſion of his Son *Henry* (i) (*John Duke* of *Bedford* then Regent) this *Duchy* coſt the Crown of *England* 10942 *l.* yearly. (k) In *an.* 10. it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Cromwel* Treaſurer of *England*, that out of the Kings Exchequer at *Weſtminſter* the entertainment of the Garriſon and Governour was defrayed, the Rents of the Duchy not ſupporting the charge ordinary. (l) When *Richard Duke* of *York* was in the fifteenth year of *Henry* the ſixth *Regent*, the certain Expence over-ballanced the

(f) *Mat. Paris*
(g) *Ex Archiv. de redit. Norman. tempore H. 3.*
(h) *Ex origin. Inſtr: Domini Scrope.*
(i) *Ex libro Domini Cavendi de anno 13 & 2 H. 6.*
(k) *Ex Rot. Par. de an. 11 H. 6.*
(l) *Ex lib. originali Roberti Cotton.*

(a) *Rot. Parl. an.* 17 *H.* 6. *n.* 27.

Receipt 34008 *l.* And *an.* 27. (*a*) the Lord *Hastings Chancellour* of *France* declareth in Parliament, that *Normandy* was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer; for this Crown was both eased of the *Duchy* and Charge shortly.

Aquitain, Gascoign, Guien.

Of the *Principality* of *Aquitain*, the *Duchy* of *Gascoign*, *Guien* and the Members, I find the state thus in record. In the twenty sixth of *Henry* the third, (*b*) there was issued from the Treasurer and Chamberlains at *Westminster* 10000 *l.* for payments in *Gascoign*; besides an infinite proportion of Victuals and Munition thither sent. To retain this *Duchy* in Duty and possession, (*c*) this King was inforced to pawn his Jewels, being *are alieno gravitèr obligatus, Thesauris, Donativis, Tallagiis, & extortionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Extortions in *England*. Besides the people there at his departure *extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum*, forced an acknowledgment from him of 40000 Marks. And a Story of that time saith of *anno* 38. (d) *Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter recuperavit Castra sua propria Vasconiæ*, with a great deal of toile and expence, he unprofitably recovered his own Castles in *Gascoign*; of which the Labour was more than ever the Benefit could be.

(b) *Rot. libr. anno* 26 *H.* 3.

(c) *Rot. an.* 22 *H.* 6.

(d) *Mat. Paris pag.* 578.

And thus it appeareth to have continued; for *an.* 17. (*e*) of *Edward* the second, the money disbursed out of *England* to defray the surcharge there came to 46595 *l.* 9 shillings 7 *d.* besides 29660 *Quarters* of Grain, and of Beeves and Bacons

(e) *Ex Compot. Willielm. de Overhampton, anno* 17 *E.* 2.

Bacons an infinite proportion. In the firſt of *Edward* the third (*a*) the iſſues of *Gaſcoign* were 10000 *l.* above the Revenues. The *Signiories* in *Aquitain* (*b*) coſt in eight years, ending the thirty ſixth of this King, 192599 *l.* 4 *ſhill.* 5 *d.* *de receptis forinſecis* only, it was delivered in Parliament, *an.* 1 *Rich.* 2. (*c*) that *Gaſcoign*, and ſome few other places that were then held in *France*, coſt yearly this Crown 42000 *l.* And in the ſeventeenth of this King (*d*) a Parliament was ſummoned for no other cauſe eſpecial, than to provide money to clear the annual expences of thoſe parts. The charge of *Bordeaux* (*e*) but one Town, ſurmounting in half a year all Rents and perquiſites there 2232 *l.* As *Fronſack* in *Aquitain* 5787 *l.* for double that time; when the intire *Duchy* exceeded not 8204 in yearly Revenues.

(a) *Pat. an.* 1 *E.* 3.
(b) *Ex Comput. Richardi Longley an.* 36 *E.* 3. *in Theſaur. Regis Weſtmon. in Rot. Aquitaniæ.*
(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 7 *R.* 2. *m.* 24.
(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 17 *R.* 2.
(e) *Ex Computis Walt. de Weſton.*

The Charge of *Guien* all the Reign of *Henry* the fourth (*f*) was 2200 *l.* annually out of the Exchequer of *England*. By accompt *Aquitain* (beſides *Guien* 6606 *l.*) was the (*g*) firſt of *Henry* the fifth in ſurpluſage of charge 11200 *l.* and the Town of (*h*) *Bordeaux* the five firſt years of the ſame King 6815 *l.* In the eleventh of (*i*) *Henry* the ſixth, Sir *John Ratcliffe* Steward of *Aquitain* received from the Treaſury of *England pro vadiis ſuis*, &c. 2729 *l.* and for expence in cuſtody of *Fronſack* Caſtle only he payed 666 *l.* 13 *ſhill.* the profits of the *Duchy* no wayes able to clear the Accompts.

(f) *Ex Comput. Tho. Swinburn anno* 10 *H.* 4.
(g) *Ex Comput. Joannis Tiptoft an.* 1 *H.* 5.
(h) *Ex Comput. Will. Clifford & Robert. Holme an.* 5 *H.* 5.
(i) *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 11 *H.* 6.

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in *Brittany*, may in a few Examples appear. (*k*) *Henry* the third confeſſeth that *ad defenſionem Britanniæ non ſufficiebant Angliæ Theſauri, quod jam*

Brittany.
(*k*) *Ex Mat. Paris.*

per triennium comprobavit, that the Treasure of *England* would not suffice to maintain *Britany*, which he had found to be true upon three years tryal: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expences.

Brest.
(a) Rot: Parl. anno 2 R. 2. Ex Comput. Tho. Parry Cust. Castri de Brest, a. 9 R. 2. Callis.

The Town of *Brest* (a) cost *Richard* the second 12000 marks a year, and it stood him in *an.* 9. in 13118 *l.* 18 *shill.*

(b) Ex Comput. Willielmi Horwell in Thesaur. Regis. (c) Ex Comput. Richardi Eccleshall de an. 28, 29, & 30 E. 3. (d) Ex. Rot. Par. anno 2 R. 2. (e) Ex Comput. Rob. Thorley. (f) Ex Comput. Simonis de Burg. (g) Ex Comp. Rog. de Wald. an. 13 R. 2. & 15. (h) Ex Comp. Joannis Bernin, an. 23 R. 2. (i) Ex Comput. Ro. Thorley. (k) Ex Comp. Nich. Usle.

For *Callis*, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition until the loss, in every age the Expence (for the most part either out of the Treasury or Customes of *England*,) disbursed. (*b*) From the eighteenth of *Edward* the third, until the one and twentieth, in which space it was taken, the charge amounted to £37400 *l.* 9 *shill.* 4 *d.* *Anno* 28. of the same King for little more than a year 17847 *l.* 5 *shillings*. In *anno* 29. 30581 *l.* 18 *d.* for two years compleat. (*c*) In the thirtieth received by *Richard de Eccleshal* Treasurer of *Calais* from the Bishop of *Winchester* Treasurer of *England*, 17847 *l.* (*d*) And in the year following 26355 *l.* 15 *shill.* (*e*) In the second of *Richard* the second *de receptis forinsecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at *Westminster*, 20000 *l.* for three years compleat. (f) *Anno* 5. 19783 *l.* For three years ending (g) *anno* 10. 77375 *l.* For the like term until *an.* 13. 48609 *l.* 8 *shill.* And (h) for the four succeeding years 90297 *l.* 19 *shill.* And for the last three years of his Reign, 85643 *l.*

From the end of (*i*) *Richard* the second until the fourth of *Henry* the fourth for three years (*k*) 62655 *l.* 17 *shillings*. And for one succeeding, 19783 *l.*

19783 *l.* The Charge in Victual and Provision for two years five months in this Kings Reign (*a*) 46519 *l.* 15. *shillings.*

In the first four and peaceable years of his Son there was issued from the Treasury of *England* (*b*) 86938 *l.* 10 *shill.* for this place. And from *anno* 8. until the 9. 65363 *l.* It cost *Henry* the sixth (*c*) above all Revenue 9054 *l.* 5 *shill.* in *an.* 11. The Subsidies in *England* were *an.* 27. (*d*) levied in Parliament to defray the wages and reparation of *Calis.* And the (*e*) one and thirtieth of this King there was a Fifteen and 2 shill. of every Sack of Wool imposed upon the Subjects here to the same end. (*f*) And the Parliament of 33. was assembled of purpose to order a course for discharge of wages and expence at *Calis:* and the like authority directed the fourth of *Edward* the fourth, (*g*) that the Souldiers there should receive Victuals, and salary from out of the Subsidies of *England.* The disbursement thereof one year being 12771 *l.* (*h*) And in the sixteenth of the same King for like term there was *de Portu Londoni, Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico,* by the Ports of *London, Hull, Boston, Pool, and Sandwich,* 12488 *l.* paid to the Treasury of *Calis.* (*i*) And in *an.* 20. from out of the Customes of the same Ports to the same end 12290 *l.* 18 *shill.* (*k*) And in 22. 11102 *l.* And the year following 10788 *l.* The setled ordinary wages of the Garrison in this Town yearly was 24 *Hen.* 8. (*l*) 8834 *l.* And about the thirtieth, when the Viscount *Lisle* was *Deputy,* 8117 *l.* And from the thirtieth of this King to the end of his Son *Edw.* 6. this place did cost the Crown 371428 *l.* 18 *shill.* From the first purchase of it by *Edw.* 3. until the loss

(a) *Ex Comp. Rov. Thorley.*
(b) *Ex Comp. Rob. Salvin, de an.* 5 *H.* 5.
(c) *Rot. Parl. an* 11 *H.* 6.
(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 27.
(e) *Rot. Parl. anno* 31.
(f) *Rot. Parl. anno* 33.
(g) *Rot. Parl.* 4 *E.* 4.
(h) *Ex Comp. Majoris Stapulæ anno* 1 *R.* 3.
(i) *Ex Comp. origin. inter Chartas Roberti Cotton.*
(k) *Ex Comp. Domini Liste.*
(l) *Ex lib. de expens. Bellor. H.* 8. *&* *E.* 6. *in Musæo Com. Salisbur.*

thereof by *Queen Mary*, it was ever a perpetual issue of the Treasure of this Land, which might in continuance have rather grown to be a burthen o Danger to us, than any Fort of Security. For from the waste of money, which is *Nervus Rei publicæ*, the Sinew of a Common-wealth, as *Ut pian* saith, we may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Dissolutionem Imperii docet, si fructus quibus Respub sustinetur diminuantur*, it foreshews the ruine o an Empire, if that be impaired which should be th sustenance of the Common-wealth. And there fore it was not the worst opinion (at such tim as the Captivity of *Francis* the *French* King in cited a) *Henry* the eighth to put off that King dom, although in the close *major pars vicit melio orem*, the greater party out-voted the better,) tha to gain any thing in *France* would be mor chargeable than profitable, and the keepin more than the enjoying. The issue was in *Tour nay*, *Bullen*, and this Town manifest. Beside the jealousie that Nation ever held over our de signes and their own liberty. For as *Gracia li bera esse non potuit dum Philippus Græcia Com pedes tenuit*, *Greece* could never be free so lon as *Philip* had the Fetters of *Greece* in his cu stody; so as long as by retention of *Callis* w had an easie descent into, and convenient plac to trouble the Countrey, a Fetter to intangl them, they neither had assurance of their ow quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not th least Argument from *Conveniency* in the detentio of *Callis* (after the eight years expired of Re-de livery) used by the *Chancellour* of *France*, (b) That we should gain much more in assured peace which we could never have so long as we were

(a) *Ex literis Archiep. Cant. Card. Wolsey.*

(b) *Ex littera Thomæ Smith Secret. anno* 1567. 3 *Maii.*

Lord

Lords of that Town, than by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pique and Quarrel between the two Realms: For upon every light displeasure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. *God* hath made a separation natural betwixt both *Nations*, a sure wall and defence,

Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos;

That is, the English were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of these Charges, it is not amiss to touch (by way of comfort) that from which we are so happily by the infinite blessings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and also that other of burthen still, (though much lightened) until conformity of Affections and designs of Councils shall further effect a Remedy.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in (*a*) 20 *Edward* 3. was 3129 *l.* for three years. In the end of *Richard* 2. and entrance of *Henry* 4. (*b*) 10153 *l.* And (*c*) 11 *Henry* 6. the Custody of the Marches 4766 *l.* In the 2 *Maria* the annual Charge of *Barwick* was 9413 *l.* (*d*) And in *an.* 2 *Elizabeth* 13430 *l.* And *an.* 26. 12391 *l.*

The Kingdom of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, was 29 *E.* 3. (*e*) 2285 *l.* *An.* 30. (*f*) 2880 *l.* and (*g*) *an.* 50. 1808 *l.* All the time of *Richard* 2. (*h*) it never defrayed the charges; And came ill ort in 11 *Henry* 6. 4000 Marks (*i*) of annual issues. The Revenue there in *omnibus exitibus & proficuis*, in all the rents and profits yearly,

(a) *Ex Comp. Joannis Tiptoft.*
(b) *Ex Comp. Hen. Percy, anno* 1 *H.* 4.
(c) *Parl. an.* 11 *H.* 6.
(d) *Ex musæo Com. Salisbury.*
(e) *Ex comp. Willitl. de Brumleigh.*
(f) *Ex comp. Nicol. Episc. Meth, an.* 30 *Ed.* 3.
(g) *Ex Comp. Tho. Scurlay. an.* 50 *E.* 3.
(h) *Ex Comp. Joan. Spencer, de annis R.* 2.
(i) *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 11 *H.* 6.

by Accompt of *Cromwel* Lord Treasurer, not above 3040 *l.* But passing over these elder times: in the Reign of the late *Queen*, when the yearly Revenue was not 15000 *l.* the expence for two years (*a*) ending 1571. amounted to 116874 *l.* In *an.* 1584. for less than two years came it to 86983 *l.* (*b*) The charge there in two years of Sir *John Parrots* Government ending 1586. was 116368 *l.* In *anno* 1597. the Receipt not above 25000 *l.* the issue was 91072 *l.* And when in 35 *Elizabeth* the Rents and Profits of that Kingdom exceeded not 27118 *l.* the Disbursement in seven moneths were 171883 *l.* The Charge 1601. (*c*) for nine moneths 167987 *l.* And for the two years following accounted by the allayed money 670403 *l.* And in the first of the King, 84179 *l.* Whose Government although it hath blessed both us and that Kingdom with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not delivered himself from a large and yearly expence here for supportation of that State out of his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of the Argument from increase of *Revenue* by forraign *Dominions*.

(a) *Ex annot. Dom. Burleigh ex Musæo Com. Salisbury.*

(b) *Ex Comp. Rad. Lan.*

(c) *Ex Comp. in Musæo Com. Salisbury Thesaur. Angliæ.*

Addition of any forraign Title no Honour.

As to the Arguments of *Honour* by addition of Titles and forraign *Territories*; it may suffice in answer, That so long as this Crown was actually possessed of any such *Signiory*, the *Tenure* and Service did ever bring with it a note and badge of *Vassalage*; than which nothing to so free a *Monarch* as the King of *England* (who is (d) *Monarcha in Regno, & tot & tanta habet Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio*, a Monarch

(d) *Baldus.*

narch in his Kingdom, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemish or oppoſition. To write *Domino Regi noſtro Francie*, To our Lord the King of *France*, as during the time we held the *Provinces* in *France*, we uſually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of *Honour*. And whether upon every command to act in perſon thoſe baſe ſervices of *Homage* and *Fidelity*, as firſt in putting off the *Imperial Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an Oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege ſubject to the Kings of *France*, *&c.* we in performing ſo the duties of a ſubject, do not much more diſparage the dignity of a Soveraign, is no queſtion of doubt. From theſe conſiderations of Reputation and Honour, (the greateſt ſtayes that ſupport Majeſty, and retain Obedience) our Kings of *England* have as far as to the forfeit of thoſe Signiories, either avoided or refuſed the ſervices. As King *John* did *Normandy*; and *Edward* the ſecond reſigned to his Son the *Duchy* of *Aquitain*, to put off the act of homage from himſelf, to whom it could not in reſpect of his Regality but be a diſhonour. As appeareth in *Henry* the ſecond, who having made his Son (*conſortem Imperii*, a King of *England* with him, *Homagium à Filio noluit* (ſaith the Record) *quia Rex fuit*, *ſed ſecuritatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, becauſe he was a King, but took his Security. In the ſeventeenth of *Richard* the ſecond, the Lords and Juſtices would not conſent to a Peace with *France*, unleſs the

Stile of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, accounted by our Kings a Vaſſalage.

King

King might not do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little *Reputation* that either in *Title* or *Territory* those subordinate *Duchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

Title of *France* restrained by petition in Parliament.

As for the *Kingdom* of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that Title, as any *Honour* to them, that by Acts of *Parliament* 14 *Ed.* 3. and 8 *Ed.* 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the Kingdom of *England* be in any wise subjected by such *Union* to that Crown.

France possessed would leave us to the misery of a Province.

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a *Provincial* Government: as in 17 *H.*6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings aboad there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our money in the mean time, which would inrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, (a) *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*, The *Britains* are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

(a) *Tacit. in vita Agricolæ.*

To enterprise any war, not so easie.

THe last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater *Facility* and *assurance* of Succes in any forreign enterprise, by this happy *Union* of both Kingdoms, than ever any of our Ancestors had.

To

To which in anſwer nothing can be more full, than laying down the motives and means that led on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and proſperouſly effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they ſuit theſe times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have, may be to them of equal worth and valuation. The firſt conſideration is in *Place*, the next in *Perſon*. In the wars of *France* (whether thoſe for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdom) we had ever Ports to land at, and Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coaſt of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the midſt of *France*. And *Edward* the third when he intended to annoy the Eaſt part, ſided with *Montfort* againſt *Charles de Bloys*, whom he inveſted with the *Duchy* of *Britain*, that ſo he might have there an eaſie footing. Thus by leave of his Confederates in *Flanders* he had ſafe entrance for all his Army to invade the other ſide, and a ſure retreat, when upon any occaſion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And whereſoever any Army may have a quiet deſcent, the greateſt difficulty is overcome; for the reſt conſiſteth in *Chance*, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevail than *Vertue*. But (a) *ibi grave eſt Bellum gerere, ubi nullus eſt Claſſi Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas ſocia, non conſiſtendi aut procedendi locus, quocunq; circumſpexeris hoſtilia ſunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a ſtand or to march out from, but whitherſoever a man looks, he can ſee nothing but hoſtile intentions againſt us. And this muſt be now our caſe, which was never our Anceſtors.

Means of ſucceſs formerly.

Advantage of Place and Party.

Advantage of Place.

(a) *Liv. lib.* 28.

Ad-

Advantage personal was either

A Party found made

For the *Persons* considerable, the are the Subjects to our enemies, or our own Confederates. Of the first, our Kings heretofore did either work on the opportunity of any dissention ministred, or by Pension and Reward either make a fraction in Obedience, or Neutrality in Assistance with the Subjects of their Adversary. The *Dukes* of *Burgundy*, *Earls* of *Britain*, *Dreux* and others in *France*, offended with their Sovereign, (a) *Confœderati erant Comiti Britanniæ Henrico & Regi Angliæ*, became Confederates with *Henry* Earl of *Britain* and King of *England*, and thereupon drew him over into *Britain*. (b) The same King by yearly Pensions of 7000 *l.* kept divers in *Poitou* in faction against their Lord and their own Loyalty. *Edw.* 3. had never undertaken the conquest of *France*, if (c) *Robert de Artoys* (displeased with the Sentence of *Philip* his Master for that *Earldom*) had not incited and complotted for him, as *Godfrey* of *Harecourt* did after. Nor *Henry* (d) 5. if the unsound memory of the *French* King, the jealousie of those Princes and *Orleantial Faction* had not made his way and Fortune.

(a) *Matth. Paris in vita H.* 3.

(b) *Matth. Par. vita H.* 3.

(c) *Froiard.*

(d) *Walsingham. T. Livius Forolivienſis in vita H.* 5.

Confederates were the only ground of all the good success.

Confederates.

THe Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutual Aid were of such consequence in all their affairs,

fairs, that those so best strengthened atchieved ever the greatest and most glorious victories. As the first and third *Edwards*, the fifth and eighth *Henries*. Whereas *Henry* the sixth, that was of all the rest left most naked to himself, although the greatest otherwise in opportunity, lost all the purchase of his Ancestors in the end. It is not amiss in such a foundation of Greatness as Confederacy, to lay down successively, first, with whom we tyed that knot of love; then, what were the motives, or assurances; and lastly, whether the same in both is left to our occasions, and will now or no.

A list of all the Confederates from *Hen.* the firsts Reign to the end of the last Queen. Henry 2.

Henry the first, but to assure his own possessions beyond Sea, (a) *adscivit in præsidium Comitem Britanniæ, & Theobaldum Comitem Blesensem*, called to his aid the Earl of *Britain*, and *Theobald* Earl of *Bloys*.

Henry the second did the like with (b) *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*. And again (c) *cum Theodorico Comite Flandriæ, Baronibus, Castellanis, & cæteris hominibus Comitis*, with *Theodoric* Earl of *Flanders*, the Barons, Governours of Castles, and other the Subjects of the said Earl; who stood bound to serve him *in summonitione sua, sicut Domino, pro feodis quæ de ipso teneant*, upon a summons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* contracteth under Bond (d) *mutui subsidii, quod sine Rege Richardo Angliæ non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutual aid, that he would not come to agreement with the *French* King without *Richard* King of *England*. And the (e) *Britains*

(a) *Ex Contract. mig. in Arch. Thes. west.*

(b) *Ex Radulph. de Dicto.*

(c) *Ex orig. signat. à Comite & Castellanis, in Thes. west.* Richard 2.

(d) *Ex Radulph. de Dicto.*

(e) *Matth. Paris* 184.

tains relicto Rege Francie Regi Richardo adhæserunt, forsaking the King of *France*, did joyn with King *Richard*.

King John.
(a) *Indorso Cla. an.* 1 *Joannis.*
(b) *Ex orig. in Thes. Westm.*

Between King *John* (*a*) and the Earl of *Flanders* there was a Combination *mutui auxilii contra Regem Francorum*, of mutual assistance against the *French* King. (*b*) The like with the City of *Doway* and Earl of *Holland*.

Henry 3.
(c) *Dors. pat.* 11 *H.* 3. *m.* 11.
(d) *Rot. lib. an.* 24 *H.* 3. *m.* 7. *ex originali.*

Hen. 3. *anno* 11. drew (*c*) *Peter* Duke of *Britany* into Confederacy against the *French*; and *Fernand* Earl of *Flanders* with a Pension annual of five hundred Marks. (*d*) And *anno* 38. *Alfonsus* King of *Castile* combineth with him and his heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*, against all the men in the World. To whom he remained so constant, that *an.* 8. and 10 *Edw.* 1. he would not grant a Truce to the *French* King, but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of the King of *England*.

Edward 1.
(e) *Claus. an.* 13 *Edw.* 1.
(f) *Ex origin. in Thesaur.*
(g) *Rot. Vascon. an.* 20. *m.* 19.
(h) *Rot. Alman. d. an.* 22. & 31. *m.* 13.
(i) *Ex origin. sub sigillo in Thes. Westm.*
(k) *Rot. Alman. an.* 31. *m.* 14.
(l) *Dors. Rot. Alman.* 18.

Edward 1. *an.* 13. (*e*) by a pretence of intermarriage drew *Florence* Earl of *Holland* from the *French* to his party; (*f*) and the year following, by the mediation of the Lord of *Black-mont*, the Earl of *Flanders*, who in (*g*) *an.* 20. assisted him in the wars of *Gascoign*. (*h*) In the 22. he combined with *Adolph* King of the *Romans*, and the Earl of *Gueldres*; tying the Nobility of *Burgundy* with a yearly donative of 30000 *l. Turonensium* to aid him *contra Regem Francie*, against the *French* King. (*i*) He had *Guido* Earl of *Flanders* and *Philip* his son for 100000 *l. Turonensium* in pay against the *French* King, *an.* 24, 25, and 31. of his Reign; (*k*) retaining the Earl of *Gueldres* by pay of 1000000 *l.* the Duke of *Lorrain* by 1600000 *l.* (*l*) the Nobility

Nobility of *Burgundy* by a Penſion of 30000 *l.* and *Walleran* Lord of *Montay* by 300 *l. Turonenſium* in his ſervice the ſame year. (*a*) And in *anno* 34. *Reginaldum Comitem Montis Beliardi & alios de Burgundia contra Regem Franciæ*, *Reginald* Earl of *Mont-Belliard* and other *Burgundians* againſt the King of *France*.

(a) *Rot. Pat. an.* 34. *m.* 24.

Edward the ſecond had (*b*) *auxilium tam maritimum quam terreſtre à Genoeſibus*, aſſiſtance as well by Sea as by Land from the *Genoeſes*. (*c*) And in *anno* 18. beſides his Alliance with *Flanders*, *John Protector* of *Caſtile* aideth him *contra Gallos cum* 1000. *equitibus & peditibus*, *& Scutiferis* 10000. againſt the *French* with 1000. horſe and foot, and 10000. other armed men.

Edward 2.
(b) *Rot. Vaſc. an.* 9. *&* 11.
(c) *Dorſ. Clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 7.

Edward the third (*d*) had by the Marriage of *Philip*, the Earl of *Henault* and *Holland* her Father aſſured to him; and retained *John* of *Henault* and his Followers, (*e*) *qui venerunt in auxilium ad rogatum Regis*, who came to aſſiſt the King at his call, with a Salary of 14000 *l.* yearly. Before he adventured to avow and maintain his Challenge to the Kingdom of *France*, (*f*) he made up to his party *Lodowick* the *Emperour*, (who the better to countenance his enterpriſe, elected him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.) (*g*) *Reginald* Earl of *Gueldres*, *Lewis* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *Conrade* Lord of *Hard*, who ſerved him with fifty men at Arms, the *Cardinal* of *Genoa* and his Nephew, who aided him with *Gallies*, the Magiſtrates of *Colen*, *Bruxells*, *Lorrain* and *Mechlin*, and (*h*) *Jaques de Arteville* head of the *Gantois* Faction; who having quitted

Edward 3.
(d) *Froiſard.*
(e) *Rot. libera* 2. *m.* 6.
(f) *Rot. Almæ. anno* 11.
(g) *Rot. Antuer. anno* 12.
(h) *Froiſard.*

quitted all duty to the banished *Earl*, submitted themselves and most of *Flanders* to the service and protection of *Edward* the third, who to free them of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Caution of obedience to the Crown of *France*, (*a*) they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of *France*, and imployed *John* Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorrain*, *William* Marques of *Juliers*, and the Earl of *Henault* and *Holland*, his assured Friends, *Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Franciæ*, his Procurators to claim the Crown of *France*. (*b*) These his Allies not long after meeting him at *Tournay* with one hundred thousand men, as *Robert de Artoys* did with fifty thousand at S. *Omers* against the *French* King. And thus he attired and furnished his first enterprise, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By (*c*) colour of Marriage he drew in the King of *Sicily* in the eighteenth year, the Duke of *Millain*, and the King of *Castile* for mutual aid; and (*d*) *Simon Butangre* Duke of *Genoa*, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the ninteenth year (*e*) the questionable Title of the *Duchy* of *Britain* assured him of *John de Montford*; against whom the (*f*) *French* King maintained *Charles de Bloys* for that *Duchy*. In *anno* 24. (*g*) he renewed the Contract with the *Genoeses*; and in the thirtieth made a convention of Peace, *& mutui auxilii cum Rege Navarræ*, and of mutal aid, with the King of *Navarre*. In (*h*) the thirty seventh with *Peter* King of *Castile*: and in that and the one and fortieth (*i*) an alliance of Aid and Amity he entred with the Duke

(a) *Ex Rot. Antwerp. an.* 12.

(b) *Rot. Parl. anno* 14. *n.* 8.

(c) *Clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 25.

(d) *Dorſ. clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 20.

(e) *Dorſ. Clauſ. an.* 19. *m.* 14.

(f) *Froiſard.*

(g) *Rot. Pat. an.* 24. *n.* 8.

(h) *Ex originali de an.* 7. *in lib. Rob. Cot.*

(i) *Ex orig. in Thes. Wist. de an.* 37. & 41.

Duke of *Britain*: and *anno* 45. (*a*) again with the *Genoeſes*. and *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders* and Duke of *Brabant*; (*b*) and *an.* 46. with *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*.

Richard the ſecond reneweth (*c*) in *anno* 1. the confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of *Britain*; and with whom *anno* 3. he contracted anew, as he had done *anno* 2. with *Lewis* (*d*) Earl of *Flanders*. In the ſixth (*e*) year he combineth with the *Flemings* (*f*) *contra inimicos communes*, againſt the enemies of them both; with (*g*) the Kings of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre* and *Arragon*, *de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aid; (*h*) and with *Wincеſlaus* the Emperour *Contra Carolum Regem Francia & Robertum Regem Scotiæ*, againſt *Charles* King of *France*, and *Robert* King of *Scotland*. In *anno* 8. (*i*) with the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicily*, and *Portugal*. In the tenth with *Portugal*, who at his own charges aided this King with ten *Galleys*. And with *William* Duke of *Gueldres de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aid. And *anno* 12. (*k*) 18. and 19. with *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*. (*l*) And *an.* 20. with the Earl of *Oſtrenant de retinentiis contra Regem Franciæ*, againſt the King of *France*. And *Rupertus Count Palatine* of the *Rhene* *anno* 20. became a *Homager* for term of life to this King.

Henry the fourth entred alliance (*m*) of mutual aid in two years with *William* Duke of *Gueldres* and *Mons*. (*n*) In the twelfth with *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungaria*. (*o*) And in the thirteenth by ſiding with the Factions of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, laid the *baſis* upon which his Son that ſucceeded reared the *Trophies* of his Renown.

(a) *Ex orig. ſub ſigillo.*
(b) *Ex Contract. origin. in Archiv. Theſ. weſtm.*
(c) *Clauſ. an. 1 R. 2.* Richard 2.
(d) *Rot. Franc. anno 2.*
(e) *Ex orig. in Theſ.*
(f) *Rot. Parl. anno 6. n. 11.*
(g) *Ex Contract. in lib. Italico Rob. Cotton.*
(h) *Rot. Franc. an. 6. m. 28.*
(i) *Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16. & an. 18. & 19.*
(k) *Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16. & an. 18. & 19.*
(l) *Rot. Franc. an. 20. m. 2.*
(m) *Rot. clauſ. an. 2 H. 4. & Rot. Fran. an. 2 & 3 H. 4. m. 6.* Henry 4.
(n) *Rot. Franc. an. 12 H. 4. m. 21.* Henry 5.
(o) *Tho. Walſingham.*

For *Henry* the fifth going forward upon the Advantage left and daily offered, strengthened himself *anno* 4. (*a*) by a League perpetual with *Sigismund* the Emperour; renewing that of *Richard* the second (*b*) with *John* King of *Portugal*, as his Father had done. He entred a contract with the Duke of *Britain*, and with the *Queen* of *Jerusalem* and *Lewis* her Son for the *Duchy* of *Anjou* and *Mayn*; and with the King of *Portugal* and Duke of *Bavaria* for supply of Men and Munition by them performed. (*c*) And the year before the Battel of *Agincourt* sendeth the Lord *Henry Scrope* to contract with the Duke of *Burgundy* (*d*) and his Retinue for Wages in *servitio suo in Regno Franciæ vel Ducatu Aquitaniæ*, in his service in the Kingdom of *France*, or the Duchy of *Aquitain*; esteeming the alliance of that house the readiest means to attain his end.

(a) *Ex Rot. Parl. an.* 4.

(b) *Ex Origin. Thes. Westm.*

(c) *Ex Chron. Rogeri Wall. in vita Hen.* 5. *an.* 5. & 8.

(d) *Ex Instrument. orig.* 31 *Aug.* 5 H. 5.

Henry 6.

Henry the sixth (*i*) so long as he held the Amity of *Britain* (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of *Burgundy*, his friend of eldest assurance and best advantage, which he did to the sixteenth year of his Government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in *France*. But when *Burgundy* (*f*) brake the bond of our assurance, and betook him to the Amity of *France*, and dealt with this Crown, but as a Merchant by way of intercourse, first at the Treaty of (*g*) *Bruges* 1442. then at (*h*) *Callis* 1446. the reputation and interest we held in *France* declined faster in the setting of this Son, than ever it increased in the rising of the Father.

(c) *Ex Contract. origin.*

(f) *Ex Tract at. Atrabatensi.*

(g) *Ex Tract. Brugens.* 1442.

(h) *Ex Tract. Calliæ* 1445. *Ex Tractat. Bruxellensi* 1446.

And *Edward* the fourth who succeeded, sensible of this loss, wooed by all the means either of Intercourse or Marriage to win again the house

houſe of *Burgundy* (*a*) which in *anno* 7. he did, to joyn for the recovery of his right in *France*. (*b*) And drew in the year following the Duke of *Britain* to that Confederacy. In the (*c*) eleventh year he renewed with *Charles* of *Burgundy* the bond of mutual Aid; and contracted the next (*d*) year the like with the King of *Portugal*. And in *an.* 14. *pro recuperatione Regni Franciæ contra Ludovicum Uſurpantem*, for the recovery of the Kingdom of *France* out of the hands of *Lewis* the Uſurper, ((*e*) as the Record is) entred a new Confederacy with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britain*: (*f*) And in the end wrought from them a round Penſion of money, though he could not any portion of land.

(a) *Parl. an.* 7 E. 4. *n.* 28.
(b) *Rot. Franc. an.* 8. *m.* 22. & *ex contract. originali.*
(c) *Rot. Franc. an.* 11 E. 4. *m.* 7
(d) *Rot. Franc. an.* 12. *m.* 22. & *ex orig. in Thes. weſtm.*
(e) *Rot. Fran. an.* 14. *m.* 18. & 19.
(f) *Ex Contr. de an.* 1487. *pro ſolutione* 50000 *ſcutorum ad* 100. *annos.*

Henry the ſeventh (*g*) *anno* 5. & 6. entertaineth an Alliance with *Spain* againſt the *French* King. The like in the eighth with the King of *Portugal*: and in the tenth (*h*) with the houſe of *Burgundy* for Intercourſe and mutual Aid.

Henry 7.
(g) *Rot. Fran. an.* 5, & 6 H. 7. & *Contr. orig. an.* 8 H. 7.

Henry the eighth in *anno* 4. (*i*) reneweth the Amity of *Portugal*; and the next year combineth with the Emperour *Maximilian* againſt *Lewis* the *French* King, who aideth him out of *Artoys* and *Henault* with four thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; whereupon he winneth *Tournay*, (*k*) *Conſilio, Auxilio, & favoribus Maximiliani Imperatoris*, with the advice, aſſiſtance, and countenance of the Emperour *Maximilian*. In *anno* 7. (*l*) to weaken the *French* King, he entreth league with the *Helvetian Cantons* by his Commiſſioners *Wingfield* and *Pace*; and with (*m*) *Charles* of *Spain* for Amity and mutual Aid: into which *Maximilian* the Emperour and *Joan* of *Spain* (*n*) were received the year following.

Henry 8.
(h) *Ex magn Intercuſu de an.* 1493.
(i) *Ex tract. origin. de dat.* 1513.
(k) *Ex lit. Max. imp. Cav. Ebor. dat.* 15.
(l) *Rot. Franc. anno* 7 H. 8.
(m) *Ex tract. Bruxellenſ.* 1515.
(n) *Ex orig. ſubſcript. card. Sedunenſi de dat.* 1516.

(a) *Ex tract. Calliſ. an.* 1521

(b) *Ex tract. orig. ſubſcript. manu Card. Ebor. & Marg. Regent.* 24. *Auguſt.* 1521.

(c) *Ex tract. Winſor.* 1522.

(d) *Ex tract. Cambrenſ.* 1529.

(e) *Ex tract. ultrajectenſi.*

(f) *Ex tract. de anno* 1543. *Ex originali dat. ultimo Janu.* 1547.

(g) *Ex inſtruct. Richi Moriſon.* Edward 6.

(h) *Ex litera Ducis Somerſ. Magiſt. pag.* 1549.

(i) *Ex contr. Matrimoniali* 1554.

(a) In *an.* 12. with the Emperour *Charles* and (b) *Margaret* Regenteſs of *Burgundy* he maketh a Confederation againſt *Francis* the *French* King, as the common enemy: *& quia Rex Angliæ non poſſit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum numerum congerere*, the King of *England* could not furniſh ſuch a quantity of Horſe of his own Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract, the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in *Germany*. And the Pope in furtherance of his intendment, interdicteth the *French* Territories, calleth in aid *Brachii Secularis*, of the Secular power, (c) thoſe two Princes; appointeth the *Emperour Protectorem & advocatum Eccleſiæ*, the Churches Advocate and Protector; and ſtileth their Attempt *ſanctæ expeditio*, an holy expedition. (d) And this is by the Treaty at *Windſor* the next year confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years (e) twenty one, thirty five and thirty eight the aſſociation, and bond of mutual aid with the ſame Princes, and againſt the *French* King, if he brake not off his Amity with the *Turk*.

And although (f) *Edward* the ſixth in the firſt year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of *England* and the houſe of *Burgundy* perpetual; yet (g) forbore he to aid the Emperour in the wars of *France*, diſabled (as he pretended) by reaſon of the Poverty the troubles of *Scotland* had drawn upon him; (h) And therefore offered the Town of *Bullen* to the Imperial Protection.

During the Reign of Queen *Mary*, there was no other but that (i) of Marriage, Aid and Entercourſe with the *Emperour*, *Spain* and *Burgundy*;

gundy; (*a*) and beſides that tripartite bond at *Cambray* of Amity and Neutrality.

Our late Renowned Miſtris entertained with the Prince of *Conde* (*b*) about *New-haven*, and (*c*) with *Charles* the ninth 1564. and at (*d*) *Bloys* 1572. with the King of *Navarre* before the acceſſion of the Crown of *France* to him, and after *Britain*, and laſtly by the Duke of *Bullen* (*e*) in ninety ſix. And with the States of the *Netherlands* in the years eighty five (*f*) and ninety eight, divers Treaties of Amity, Confederation and Aſſiſtance.

(a) *Extract. Matr.* 1555. Queen Mary.
(b) *Ex artic. ſubſcript. à Vidame de Chartres* 1562 Elizabeth.
(c) *Ex fader. Trecenſi.* 1564.
(d) *Ex tract. Plejenſi.*
(e) *Ex tract. Londini.* 1596.
(f) *Ex tract. cum ordin. Belgiæ de an.* 1585. & 1598

By all theſe paſſages, (being all that well either our Story or *Records* can diſcover) it appeareth manifeſt the Kings of *England* never to have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any Forreign Enterpize without a party and confederate. Amongſt which by ſituation, thoſe of beſt advantage to us have been the Dukes of *Britain*, Lords of the *Netherlands*, the City of *Genoa*, the Kings of *Portugal* and *Spain*, and the Empire, ſince knit into the houſe of *Burgundy*.

Confederates of moſt benefit to *England*.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of *Germany*, the Kings of *Denmark*, *Poland* and *Sweden*, (ſo far removed) I have ſeldome obſerved that this *Crown* hath with them contracted any League of Aſſiſtance or Confederacy, but of Amity and Entercourſe only.

Princes whose Confederation are of least benefit.

IT remaineth to observe a little, what were the reasons that first induced, and then preserved the Affection and Alliances of these several Nations respectively to this Crown. The assurance we had of the State of *Genoa* was their Pensions and Traffick here. All which time by equality of Neighbourhood they stood of themselves without any jealousie of Surprize. But as soon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in *Millain*, they put themselves into the protection of *Spain*, foreseeing how dangerous it would be for a weak State to stand *Neutral*, according to *Aristhenus* counsel to the *Ætolians*, (a) *Quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili præda victoris erimus?* What else will become of us, being in firm friendship with neither side, than to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time *Spain* by estating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetual service and salary, the Inhabitants of all sorts in beneficial Trade, and (no less in Policy to ingage that City, than to supply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthiest Citizens such vast summs of money, as the Interest of late exceeded (b) twenty five Millions; he hath tyed it more sure to the *Spanish* party, than if it were commanded by a *Cittadel*; so that it must ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

Bonds of Confederation cannot be the same they were before. As with the State of *Genoa*.

(a) *Liv. Dec. 4. l. 2.*

(b) *In Relatione de Statu Genuæ, an. 1595.*

Navarre. Britain.

Navarre and *Britain* (while States of themselves) were so long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity,

Calamity, occaſioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Deſcent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent than ever it hath been under the Houſe of *Capet*.

Burgundy was ſo long our friend, as either they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords againſt *France*, who not only claimed Soveraignty over moſt, but a proprietary intereſt in part; and therefore had reaſon to give Aid and Arms to ſuch a Confederate as did by a diverſive War ſecure, and by particular Immunities inrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no ſuch aſſurance in the one; and we almoſt undone by their draping of our Wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot preſume upon any ſuch aſſurance of their aid as heretofore. Burgundy.

Spain may ſeem to give us the beſt hope of a faſt Confederate for two reſpects. *Firſt*, for that he is abſolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having againſt the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the entercourſe of Trade is more reciprocal between us than *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold anſwer, from the change of their Diſpoſitions: *Firſt*, for that they never aſſiſt any now, but to make themſelves Maſter of their State. Thus ended they the ſtriſe between the Competitors of *Portugal*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* againſt the *French*, they combined with her Adverſary, and divided the Kingdom. Spain.

Kingdom. And after upon the River of *Garillon*, under their Leader *Gonsalves*, taking an advantage, they defeated the whole Army of the *French*, holding ever since that entire Kingdom themselves. For *Spain* will admit neither Equality nor Fellowship, since upon Union of so many Kingdoms, and famous Discoveries, they begun to affect a fifth *Monarchy*. The other; that the late *hostility* between them and us hath drawn so much blood, as all forms of antient Amity are quite washt away: and as (a) *Paterculus* (*a*) saith of *Carthage* to *Rome*, so may we of *Spain* to *England*, *Adeo odium Certaminibus ortum ultra metam durat, ut ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inviſum eſſe deſinet quam eſſe deſiit*: The hatred begot by former quarrels doth endure so lastingly, that the very conquered party cannot forget it: and in such a case the very places must cease to be, before the hatred and envy towards it can cease.

(a) *Paterculus.*

Dangers in Confederacy by diversity of Ends. Examples, that ends served, Confederates quit all bonds of Combination. (a) *Matth. Paris* 1242.

BEsides these local considerations, there will two other Dangers now fall out from any Contract of mutual aid: The one from diversity of *Intention*, and the other of *Religion*. In the one, when either the Confederate hath safely attained his own secret End, (whatsoever he pretendeth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to work out his own designs. Thus was *Henry* the third served, called over by the Earls of *Tholouse* and *March*: they in the mean time having made their Peace with *France*: (*a*) *Et expertus jam infidem, imo perfidiam* Pictavensium, *turpiter receſſit, & feſtinans non pepercit Cala-*

ribus,

ribus, insomuch that having found the treachery and perfidiousnes of the *Poictovins*, he was forced dishonourably to retreat, and for haste to spurr away; the peril the poor King was left in being so great. He was handled like to this by *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who having drawn him into the wars of *Apulia* against *Manfred*, in the end, *depauperato Regno Angliæ, & undique bonis suis spoliato*, his Kingdom of *England* being impoverished, and wholly despoiled of its Goods, left him to his own shift. The King of *Navarr* calling in the aide of *Edward* the third (a) against *France*, and appointing the Isle of *Gersey* the *Rendezvous* of their forces, revolteth to the *French*, after he had by countenance of that preparation wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the *Emperour* to induce *Henry* the eighth not only contracteth to aide him in person to recover the Crown of *France*, & *pro tyrannico Rege repellendo*, and to remove the tyrannical King, (they are the words of the League;) but conferreth upon him in the same *Coronam Imperialem & Imperium Romanum*, the Imperial Crown and the *Roman* Empire in reversion; and estateth the *Duchy* of *Millain* after recovery upon his person, & *suorum naturalium masculini sexus heredum*, *modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his heirs male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of the Empire: yet in the close left the King to his own fortune, his turn for *Millain* and *Verona* served. *Charles* the fifth when by the incursion of the *French* he saw his portion in *Italy* distressed, in safety whereof consisted the whole *Pulse* of the *Spanish*, (as he used himself to say,) for it supplied his Army with great Levies,

(a) *Rot. Parl. anno* 29 *E.* 3. *n.* 6.

vies, and was fitly seated for a fifth *Monarchy*; he then ingaged *Henry* the eighth in the wars of *France*, and bound himself (as *Bourbon* his Confederate) that he would assist him to the full Conquest of that Kingdom, and the other should become *Homager* to *Henry* the eighth as to his Soveraign. But after that *Bourbon* had advanced his Army and distressed the *French* King, he in his answer to *Master Pace* the Kings Ambassadour refused that assurance of duty, and gave a just suspicion, that he by help of his Party intended to usurp upon that State himself, which the *Emperour* never meant to the King of *England*; lest by such footing in *France*, he might grow so great as to give Law to his neighbours. And to fall off upon such grounds hath ever been excusable, howsoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus did *Henry* the eighth as often change his hand of help, as either Princes of *Spain* and *France* got ground of the other. And the *Spaniard* now, to keep the States in *Italy* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D.* of *Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quinctius* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Ætolorum opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Ætolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philippum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

Suspecting that an Allie may grow too great, dissolveth alliance.

Liv. lib. 34.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For

For whenſoever we ſhall attempt upon a *Catholick Prince*, as *France*, where we have the faireſt pretences, for with any other we are like to have no queſtion; then is all Contract of mutual aide left to the election of our Confederate, who may with all eaſineſs procure from the See of *Rome* a diſcharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been Catholicks, as that between *Edward* 3. and *John* King of *France*, and that between *John* of *Gaunt* and the King of *Caſtile*; they ever out of ſuch ſuſpect inſerted this Clauſe, That neither ſide ſhould procure *diſpenſationem*, &c. either *per Eccleſiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliquam*, a Diſpenſation either by the Church of *Rome*, or any other way, to do *contra formam Tractatus*, contrary to the form of Agreement: How much more muſt their *jealouſie* be to us? And therefore in a Conſultation in *Henry* the eighths time, (a) whether with beſt ſecurity we ſhould Confederate with *France* or *Spain*, it was reſolved that either of them may ſlip of their advantage by colour of our Separation from the

Danger by difference in Religion, in reſpect of the Confederates, who may break by diſpenſation, though both Catholicks.

(a) *Ex original. in manu Domini Cromwell.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederates, who ought to break out of the Roman doctrine, one accounted heretick.

Doctrine of the See of *Rome* touching leagues with Hereticks.

(a) *Ex Bulla origin. sub sigillo urbani 6. an. pont. 4.*

the Church of *Rome*, if there be no better hold in their Honesties than in their Bonds. For it will be held not only worthy dispensation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any *Catholick* Prince to be *instanti* dissolved, because we are by them ranked in the list of *Hereticks*; which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that *Urban* the fixth sent by (a) *Bull* to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Charles* the *Emperour*, (before the Council of *Constance*,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and Conventions to be *Lege Divina temeraria, illicita, & ipso jure nulla, etiamsi forent fide data firmata, aut Confirmatione Apostolica roborata*, to be by the Law of God invalid, void, and in Law null, although confirmed by the plighting of faith, nay though strengthned by confirmation Apostolical, if the parties were *separati ab Unitate sanctæ Ecclesiæ*, separate from the Unity of Holy Church, when

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederates, who

ought to break out of the Roman doctrine, one accounted heretick.

when the league was made; or, *si postea sint effecti*, if they become so after. What assurance can there then be either with *France*, who is received, by his *Rebenediction*, into the Bosome of the *Church*, and his son made *Adoptivus Filius Ecclesiæ*, an adopted Son of the Church; or against him with *Spain*, who being *Protector* and *Champion* of that See *Apostolick*, submitteth himself (as he hath ever done) to the Popes pleasure and design, and must not only forsake, but aide against us in any war we should there undertake?

Subjects obedient to the Popes Censure a dangerous Party.

Besides it is considerable, however all sides of our own will joyn in point of defence to a mutual aide; whether they will so in a forraign Invasion; (especially when the party assailed shall be of their own Religion.) For when the Interdiction of the Pope could draw against *John* King of *England* and (a) *Lewis* the twelfth a side of their own Subjects, (as it did after in the same Kingdom against *Henry* the third, though all three conformable in points of Religion to that See;) how much more will it work

Subjects

(a) *Ex Eulogio Hist.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Subjects

work with the people devoted to their opinions in a State divided from their obedience? For amongst us the *Catholick Church* hath many *Jesuits* to raise Faction, and divert people from duty; the *Recusants* many, and *Malecontents* not few; all which with war will discover themselves, but now by this happy calm unassured of assistance, lock up their riches in security, and their hearts in silence. And therefore by any enterprize, it is not with the rule of *Seneca* safe, *concutere felicem statum*. For by provoking of some adversary in respect of Papal protection, they pick advantage to ground a quarrel of Religion: and then the *sancta expeditio*, the holy expedition against *Lewis*, will be made *Bellum Sacrum*, a holy War against us.

But admitting no less than in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in general of the dangers and impossibilities to *retain*. For first we must more than transgress *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

(a) *(Te natura potens Pelago diviſit ab omni*
Parte orbis, tutam ſemper ab hoſte foret.

From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee
With Seas, and ſet thee ſafe from Enemy.)

(a) *Feſtus Avienus.*

and commit our Frontiers (had we never ſo much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which beſides the continual Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable, for our Intereſt we will not,) how ready ſhall it be in ſuch a Leader, and ſo backt, if he pleaſe, to give Law to his own Countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for ſuch as can make them good by Power; And whenſoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be ſure to colour his pretext with honeſt Titles. (*b*) *Alii, ſicuti Jura populi defenderent; Pars, quo Senatus authoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum ſimulantes:* ſome declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Auguſtus* (*c*) refuſed to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; (*d*) and to reſtrain that infinite and unſafe deſire of enlarging, left in Charge to his Succeſſors that eſpecial point of advice, (*e*) *coercendi intra Terminos Imperii*, to keep the Empire within due and fitting bounds. The like moderation from the ſame ground was in the late *Queen*, who refuſed the ſoveraignty of the *Netherlands*, (*f*) ſo often and earneſtly offered to her, fore-ſeeing well, that as her

Danger of large Frontiers.

(b) *Salluſt. in Bello Catil.*

(c) *Suetonius in vita Auguſti.*

(d) *Dion Caſſius.*

(e) *Tacitus.*

(f) *Ex propoſit. Statuum de anno 1585.*

her State should grow more respective by addition of People, and augmentation of Territory; so Factions and Discontents (a common accident in worldly affairs) would arise from superfluity.

What State may best admit addition.

The State that may best admit increase is that, unto which addition may be on every part indifferently. Such was the advantage of *Rome*, by being situate in the midst of *Europe*: whereas we are thrust out of the world; to which we have no other contiguity, than an unsure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, subject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, than our selves to secure. For how large soever any Kingdom is, all great directions move from one place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch may safely pass with indifferency and assured Speed: And those Forms are most quick and easie in motion, whose extreams are all equally distant from the Centre; for the more different from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome* may sufficiently example this: For so long as the *Orbe* of that Empire so moved about her, all things kept on their course with order, and ease; but after the Seat was by (a) *Constantine* removed to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, and in the end dissolved. For either through the mass of Business, the limitedness of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re præsenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions: Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of remisness, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions than

(a) *Zozimus in vita Constantini.*

than is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous is it then by addition of Territories for our Master, (*a*) *Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo quærenti Orbem*, whilst he is seeking to joyn another world, in a manner to his and our Empire, to alter either the setled order of directions, or walls of our security? Besides, as in the Frames of Nature *Anima rationalis*, the rational soul cannot *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly*; (or any other body disproportionable to a form so qualified:) so is there as well a bound of amplitude and strictness wherein the soul of Government is comprised; (*b*) Between which extreams there are many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to the greatest (that nature seldome or never produceth) some to the least, and some to the mean; beyond which proportions respectively though some may have a will to affect, they never can have a power to attain. And this we may see in the former accession of so much to us in *France*, which we could never either with Profit or Assurance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and but tacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdoms (in which number this may be accounted) are of the same condition that *Demosthenes* (*c*) maketh the *Athenians*: *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis; sed in eo magnæ sunt vires vestræ, ut alium potiri principatu prohibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis*; It is not your way, violently to oppress other States and seize the Government; but in this is your strength manifest, that you can hinder another from possessing the Government, or when he is possessed of it,

(a) *Velleius Paterc. de Expeditione Cæsaris.*

(b) *Bodin. de Repub. lib. 6.*

(c) *Ex orat. Demosth. ad Athenienses.*

throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and Power we are the fittest, either to combine or keep several the most potent and warlike Nations of the *West*, it is the best for *Safety*, and the most for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and so by *Neutrality* sway still the Ballance of our mightiest Neighbours: which by holding of our hands, and only looking on, we shall easily do, since *Spain* and *France* hang so indifferently, that a little weight will cast the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in (*a*) *Germany*, *ut subsidio victis, Victoribus terrori essent, ne forte elati Pacem turbarent*, to assist the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, lest he should be puffed up with pride, and disturb our peace. Thus did *Henry* the eighth with the *French* and *Spanish* Princes, using as his *Motto* of Honour and Power this, *Cui adhæreo præst*, He rules whom I stick to. And the late *Queen* studied rather how to guard her Allies, than to inlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving than receiving gratuities: winking at her own wrongs, rather than willing to revenge. And (as the great Mistris of the world once) did what rather became her Greatness, than what severity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the most part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Micipsae's* counsel to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Thesauri præsidia Regni sunt*; Neither Armies nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdom: but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor moneys purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion than Deed, and that we

Safety in Neutrality.

(a) *Tacitus & Dion Cassius.*

we know *Magis fama quam vi ſtare res noſtras*, that our affairs ſtand rather by Fame than Force; it is moſt ſafe, neither to diſcover weakneſs, nor hazzard loſs by any attempt. Beſides, ſtanding as we do no wayes obnoxious by *Site* to any of our Neighbours, they will alwayes be ready to referr the judgement and order of their differences to us. As the (*a*) *Brabanters* and *Henowayes* did to the Arbitrement of *Edward* the third: and (*b*) *Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the *French* King the deciſion of their quarrel to *Henry* the eighth. Thus every part ſhall woue us, all Princes by their Orators ſhall reſort unto us, as to the Common *Conſiſtory* of judgement in their debates, and thereby add more to our Reputation than any power of our own. For as well in States as in Perſons, Suitors are an infallible token of Greatneſs; which *Demoſthenes* (*c*) told the *Athenians* they had loſt, ſince none reſorted to their *Curia* or *Prætorium*. By this way ſhall we gain the Seat of *Honour*, *Riches*, and *Safety*; and in all other but endleſs *Expence*, *Trouble* and *Danger*.

Honour attained by Neutrality, in being the Arbiter of all differences between the mightieſt Neighbours.

(a) *Froiſard.*
(b) *Ex Regiſt. & libris Tractatuum.*

(c) *Ex Demoſt. 4 Philip.*

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

FINIS.

A SHORT VIEW OF King HENRY The Third's REIGN.

Written by Sr. *Robert Cotton.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock* at the *Phœnix* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, and at the White Hart in *Westminster* Hall.

1675.

A

A

SHORT VIEW OF THE LONG REIGN OF KING Henry III.

WEaried with the lingring calamities of Civil Arms, and affrighted at the ſudden fall of a licentious Sovereign, all men ſtood at gaze, expecting the event of their long deſires (Peace) and iſſue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in every ſhift of Princes there are few, either ſo mean, or modeſt, that pleaſe not themſelves

Hiſt. Minor. Matth. Paris. with ſome probable object of prefermem. To ſatisfie all, a Child aſcendeth the Throne, mild and gracious, but eaſie of nature, whoſe Innocency and natural goodneſs led him ſafe along the various dangers of his Fathers Reign: Happy was he in his Unkle the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Guide of his Infancy, and no leſs than for thirty years after, whilſt *De Burgo*, that faſt ſervant of his Fathers againſt the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England*, with *Bygod* Earl of *Norfolk*, and others of like gravity and experience did mannage the affairs. Few and no other were the diſtempers then in State, but ſuch as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent ſtorm raiſed by ſome old and conſtant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent*, *de Fortibus*, and others, men that could only thrive by the Wars, miſliking thoſe dayes of ſloth (for ſo they termed that calm of King *Henries* Government; and the rather becauſe the Juſtice of quiet times urged from them to the lawful owners, ſuch Lands and Caſtles, as the fury of War had unjuſtly given them; for finding in the uprightneſs of the King, that power of protection ſhould not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it ended their lives and competitions; profeſſing that thoſe their ſwords that had ſet the Crown upon their Sovereigns head, when neither Majeſty nor Law could, ſhould now ſecure thoſe ſmall pittances to their Maſters, when Majeſty or Law would not. Dangerous are the too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merit, nothing of duty. No other diſquiet did the

Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Major.

Hiſt. S. Albani.

State

State after this feel, but such as is incident in all, the malice to Authority: Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from envy; for the greatest in trust of publick affairs are still shot at by the aspiring of those that deem themselves less in imployment, than they are in merit. These vapours did ever and easily vanish so long as the helm was guided by temperate Spirits, and the King tyed his Actions to the Rule of good Counsel, and not to young, passionate, or single advice.

Thirty years now passed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *De Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whose length of dayes giving him the advantage of sole power, his own ambition and age gave him desire, and art, to keep out others, which wrought him into the fatal envy of most, and that increased in the Title of Earl, and great Offices the King then gave him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it self, so in the hearts of the people, a Revolution, the afflictions of their Fathers forgotten, and the surfeit of long peace perchance having let in some abuses; from hence, the Commons, to whom dayes present seem ever worst, commend the fore-gone ages they never remembred, and condemn the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy. *Chron. de Dunest. Joan. de Wallingford.*

To these idle and usual humours, fell in some of the young and noble Spirits, warm and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by sullying the wisdom of the present, and greatest Rulers, (making each casual mishap their errors:) seem to decipher every *Chron. de Litchfield.*

blemish

blemish in Government, and then by holding certain imaginary and fantastick forms of Common-wealths, flatter their own belief and ability, that they can mold any State to these general rules, which in particular application will prove idle and gross absurdities.

Gual. de Coven. Next confirmed in their worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a fit time to work themselves into action, and authority, a thing they had long desired, and now (though unwilling to seem so) do sue for; and doubtless, the furthest of their aim was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had been then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earl, That *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Novandis quàm gerendis rebus aptiores*; fitter in being factious to disorder, than to settle affairs, either denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotiis*, and not *supra*, Creatures out of meer election, that are only theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Matth. Paris Hist. Minor. Amongst this unequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Gloceſter*, and *Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the merit of their Fathers, whose memories they held sacred, as Pillars of publick liberty, and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Runemede* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, *Fitz-Geoffry*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley*, *Maunsel* and *Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleen, as the places from whence they were elected, Camp, Court, or Countrey, could

Chron. Petri Peſtaviens.

afford

afford any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earl of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one saith of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut flexo in vesperum die.* *Matth. Paris.*

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were fair in opinion with the rest, Gentlemen, by Forreign education and imployment, more qualified than usually men of these times; and that set upon their own deserts, the best places when the Stream should turn, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did unworthily obtain, for he dyed in actual Rebellion, *Justiciarius Angliæ*, against his Master) advised that the best means to remove that great and good obstacle, the Earl of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest being driven out by the worst, they shall either be able to mate him with his own vices, which will be ever more visible, as he is more potent, and so remove him at pleasure; or else give over the King to such Ministers leisure, as losing him the hearts of his people, might smooth them a way to their bad desires, *Honores quos quietæ Republica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus, Counsel heard, approved and put in practice, the corrupt, and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, for money, and opinion of increase of power. *Cicero in Catal. sive Orat. prima.*

Articles

Articles are in all haſte forged, and urged againſt the Earle, as ſale of Crown land; waſte of the Kings Treaſure; and laſtly, (that which theſe doubtful times held capital) his giving allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Sovereign and the Subjects, as he had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his non-age, and enforced the Subject to pay as the Record ſaith, *Non juxta ſingulorum facultatem, ſed quicquid Juſtitiarius æſtimabat.*

Lib. Bermonſey vita Abbatiſ. Albani.

Well! he cleared himſelf of all, but the laſt, and did worthily periſh by it; for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are ever the ruines of their firſt Inventers; bad times corrupt good Counſels, and make the beſt Miniſters yield to the luſt of Princes, therefore this King cannot paſs blameleſs, that would ſo eaſily blemiſh all former merits, of ſo good a ſervant, for that wherein himſelf was chief in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and ſooner cloid than others, more tranſitory their favours, and as their minds are large, ſo they eaſily over-look their firſt election, tying their affections no further than their own ſatisfactions.

The Biſhop now alone manageth the State; chooſeth his chief inſtrument, *Peter de Rivallis*, a man like himſelf; diſplaceth the natives, and draweth *Poictions* and *Brittons* into Offices of beſt truſt, and benefit; and the King into an evil opinion of his people. For nothing is more againſt the nature of the *Engliſh*, than to have Strangers rule over them: of this mans time, *Wendover*, an Author then living ſaith, *Judicia commu-*

committuntur injuſtis, Leges exlegibus, Pax diſcordantibus, juſtitia injurioſis. Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went clear, and had not the diſcreeter Biſhop calmed all by dutiful perſwaſions, and informing the King that the ſupport of this bold mans power (whoſe carriage before had loſt his Father *Normandy*, the love of his people, and in that his Treaſure, his Crown) would by teaching the Son to reject in paſſion the juſt petitions of his loyal Subjects, (as of late the Earl of *Pembrooke* his Earl Marſhal of *England* the due of his Office) drive all the State into diſcontent by his bad advice, and corrupt manners; doubtleſs the rebellious Lords had ended this diſtemper, as their deſign was, in a civil War. *Regis Roſſen. Annalis de Ely.*

Denials from Princes muſt be ſupplied with gracious uſage, that though they cure not the ſore, yet they may abate the ſence of it; but beſt it is, that all favours come directly from themſelves; denials and things of bitterneſs from their Miniſters.

Thus are the Strangers all diſplaced and baniſhed, *Rivallis* extortions ranſackt, by many ſtrict Commiſſions of enquiry; the Biſhop ſent away diſgraced, finds now that *Nulla queſita ſcelere potentia diuturna*; and that in Princes favours there is no ſubſiſtence between the higheſt of all, and precipitation. Dangerous are the waies of Majeſty, and men ſtill fooliſh to run to ruine. The Lords ſtill fruſtrate of their malicious ends, began to ſow upon theſe late grounds of the peoples diſcontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de Principe ſermones & alia quæque turbamenta vulgi*, and took it up a faſhion to endear and glorifie themſelves with the ſenceleſs multitude, by depraving the *Clauſ. anno* 37 *H.* 3. *M.* 26. *Chron. Holl.*

Kings

Kings diſcretion, and Government, whoſe nature too gentle for ſuch inſolent Spirits, was forced (as *Trevet* ſaith) to ſeek as he preſently did, advice and love amongſt ſtrangers, ſeeing no deſert could purchaſe it at home, all bore themſelves like Tutors and Controllers, few like Subjects and Councellours. God we ſee holdeth the hearts of Princes, and ſendeth them ſuch Councellours as the quality of the Subject meriteth.

Chron. Litchf. For *Mountford* a *Frenchman* became the next Object of the Kings delight, a Gentleman of choice blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Soveraign did ſo much dote, that at his firſt entrance of Grace, in envy of the Nobility, he made him Earl of *Leyceſter*; and in no leſs offence of the Clergy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gave him his vowed, vailed ſiſter to wife: More of Art than uſually ſome have deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependency, the ſtrength of his aſſurance, ſo both at his will.

Mat. Paris, Roger Wendover.

Chron. Ioan. Sulgrave. *Mountford* made wanton thus with dalliance of his Maſter, forgetteth moderation, for ſeldome diſcretion in youth attendeth great and ſudden fortunes, he draweth all publick affairs into his own hands, all favours muſt paſs from him, all preferments by him, all ſuits addreſſed to him, the King but as a cipher ſet to add to this figure, the more of number. Great is the Soveraigns errour, when the hope of Subjects muſt recognize it ſelf beholden to the ſervant, which ought immediately to be acknowledged, from the goodneſs and good election of himſelf: Though Princes may take above others ſome repoſeful friend, with whom they may participate their neareſt paſſions; yet ought

ought they so to temper the affairs of their favour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principalities.

At this the great and graveſt men began to grieve, knowing the unworthy without honour, or merit, thus to deal alone in that which ſhould paſs through their hands, and to leap over all their heads, to the greateſt Honour and Offices, and therefore run along with the then riſing grace of the Kings half brethren, (though ſtrangers) hoping thereby to divide that power, which otherwiſe they ſaw impoſſible to break.

Leyceſter confident of his Maſters love, and impatient to bear either rival in favour, or partner in rule, oppoſeth them all, but findeth in his ebb of favour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could ever as eaſily transfer his fancy, as he had ſettled his affection. Great we ſee muſt be the art and cunning of that man, that keeps himſelf a float in the ſtream of Soveraigns favour, ſince the change of Princes wills, which for the moſt part are full of fancy and ſoon ſatiate, are hardly arreſted: Who ſo would effect this, muſt only attend the honour and ſervice of his Maſter, and deſpoiled of all other reſpects, transform himſelf into his inward inclination, and work into neceſſity of imployment, by undergoing the Offices of moſt ſecrecy, either of publick ſervice, or Princes pleaſures; he muſt alſo beat down Competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceal his own greatneſs in publick with a fained humility, and what in potency or Government he affecteth, let it rather ſeem the work of others, out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own. *Chron. Reading.*

Thus

H. Knighton. Mob. Leycest.

Thus were the reins of rule, fitly taken by this advantage, by these rebellious Lords, put alone into the hands of the Kings half brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfray*, and *William*; himself as before, *Ex magna Fortuna licentiam tantum usurpans*: For to act his own part, he was ever wier-drawn when he had such worthy servants as would often for his Honour urge it. For these Masters, (as *Wallingford* termeth them) *Tanta elati jactantia quod nec superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem, mellitis & mollitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis à rationis tramite declinantes*; do alone what they list. They fill up the place of Justice and Trust, with their Country-men, strangers put out the *English*, exact of whom, how, and what they please, waste the Treasure and Crown Lands on themselves, and their followers; set prices on all offences, and reine the Law within the rule of their own Breasts. The usual reply of their servants, to the plaints of the Kings Subjects, being *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult*; *quod Dominus meus vult*; these Strangers seemed in their Lawless carriage not to have been invited, but to have entred the state by Conquest; The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serve, and the mean to live so as they might justly say, they had nothing; yet least the King should hear the groans of his people, and the wickedness of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they bar all such access: Suspicion being the best preserver of their own defects, aimeth at those, who have more of vertue than themselves, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of Government in a King, when it falls to be a prey to such Lawless Minions, the ground of infinite cor-

Joh. de Wallingford.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Lib. Monastry Ramsey.

corruption in all the members of the State; all take warrant generally from Princes weakneſſes, of licentious liberty, and greatneſs makes profit particularly by it, and therefore give way to encreaſe it, to increaſe their gains.

A Famine accompanieth theſe corruptions, and that ſo violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writs to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes ſepeliendos famis inedia deficientes:* Famine proceeds, *Fames præceſſit & ſecutus eſt gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis ſecure poſſit Provincias peragrare.* For all the Villages of the Kingdom were left a prey to the lawleſs multitude: Who *Per diverſas partes itinerantes velut per Conſentum aliorum,* (as the Record ſaith) did imply that the factious Lords ſuſpected by the King, had given ſome heat to that commotion; Seditious Peers bringing ever fewel to ſuch popular fires. *Clauſ. anno 42 Hen. 6.* *Chro. Londin.*

Neither was the Church without a buſie part in this Tragick work; for *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert* of *Lincoln*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *Pr cordialiter adhærebant*, were far ingaged. In ſuch deſigns, Church-men are never wanting, and the diſtaſte of the preſent Government, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will ever be a knot of ſtrength for ſuch unquiet Spirits, who as well frame to themſelves ſome other form of Government, than the preſent in the Church, as in the temporal ſtate, as that with which the giddy multitude winneth beſt opinion, and did at this time fitly ſuit the peoples humours, ſo much deteſting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pomp, their greedineſs, and the Popes extortions. *Will. de Rishanger.*

A fair pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to use their bitter pens and speeches, so far against Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treason at home; for he enjoyned the Earl of *Leycester*, *In remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *usque ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant by liberty or war, when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer.

Matth. Paris.

Will. de Rishanger.

True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Soveraign, but to bear with a bad one, and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserve abatement, than resist authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to lead us in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our own duties. In difficult points of Religion, where an humble ignorance is a safe and secure knowledge, we may rely upon them.

To suppress these troubles, and supply the Kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to relieve the King, as they did to quiet the State. Their end at that time, being only to open at home the poverty of their Master, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to breath out their own passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

Barth. de Cotton.

Chron. Norwic. Chron. Worc.

Here they began to tell him he had wronged the publick State, in taking to his private election the Justice, the Chancellor, & Treasurer, that should

Matth. Paris.

be only by the Common Council of the Realm, commending much the Bishop of *Chichester*, for denying delivery of the great Seal, but in Parliament where he received it. *Hovedon.*

They blame him to have bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on Strangers, and to leave the *English* unrewarded, to have undone the trade of Merchants, by bringing in Maltoles, and heavy Customs, and to have hurt the Common liberty, by *non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for private favourites. *Wallingford. Paris. Will. de Rishanger.*

That he hath taken from his Subjects, *Quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis. Rusticorum enim equos, bigas, vina, victualia, ad libitum cœpit.* *Chro. S. Albani*

That his Judges were sent in Circuits, under pretext of Justice, to fleece the people, *Causis fictitiis quoscunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir *Robert de Pinslowe* had wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest, (under pretence of encroachments or affarts,) great summs of money.

And therefore, they wonder, that he should now demand relief from his so pilled and polled Commons, who by their present extremities; *Et per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in bonis.* And therefore advised him, that since his needless expence, (*Postquam regni cœpit esse dilapidatio,*) was summed up by them to above 800000 *l.* it were fitting to pull from his favourites, who had gleaned the Treasure of his Kingdom, and shared the old Lands of the Crown, some one of them, whom the Lords there described to be *Miles literatus*, or *Cleri-* *Gual. de Coventry.* *Will. de Rishanger.*

cus militaris, who had in short space from the inheritance of an acre, grown to the Possession of an Earldom; and *Mansel* another inferiour Clark that (besides other promotions with the cure of souls) rose to dispend in annual revenue four thousand marks, whereas more moderate Fees would have become a pen-man, no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a Writing-School; yet if a moderate supply would suit with the Kings occasions, they were content to perform so far relief in Obedience, as the desert of his carriage should merit toward them: And so as the Record saith, *Dies datus est in tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessus suos corrigeret, & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.*

Chron. Litchf.

Hist. Minor. Will. de Rishanger. Epist. Robert. Lincolne.

Matth. Paris.

At which day upon new grant of the Great Charter, admittance to his Council of some persons elected by the Commons, and promise to rely upon his Natives, and not Strangers for advice hereafter; they spare him such a pittance as must tye him to their Devotion, for a new supply.

Regis Rossen.

Johan. de Wallingford.

Thus Parliaments that before were ever a medicine to heal up any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now grown worse than the malady, sith from thence more malignant humours began to reign in them, than well composed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treasure was the way whereby they inthralled his Majesty, begins now to play the good husband, closeth his hand of waste, and resolves himself (too late) to stand alone. Such experience is pernicious to the private, and dangerous to the publick good of a State, when it never learns to do, but by

Chron. de Litchf.

by undoing, and never ſees order, but when diſorder ſhews it. Yet ſtill, alas, ſuch was his flexibility, when he came to be preſſed by his *French* Minions, that he could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaſt deſires, and endleſs waſte. So that an Author then living, ſaith, it became a by-word, *Our inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our houſes to Strangers.* Followers to a King exceſſive in gifts, are exceſſive in demands, and cut them not out by reaſon, but by example: Favours paſt are not accounted, we love no bounty but what is meerly future; the more that a Prince weakneth himſelf in giving, the poorer he is of friends. For ſuch prodigality in a Soveraign, ever ends in the rapine and ſpoil of his Subjects. *Will. de Rishanger.*

Yet before the King would again ſubmit himſelf, as he had the laſt Parliament, to ſo many braves and ſtrict inquiries of his diſloyal Subjects, he meaneth to paſs through all the ſhifts, that extremity of need, with greatneſs of mind could lay upon him. He beginneth firſt with ſale of Lands, and then of Jewels, pawneth *Gaſcoigne*, and after that, his Imperial Crown, and when he had neither credit to borrow, (having ſo often failed the truſt he had made,) nor Gage of his own, he then layeth to pawn the Jewels and Ornaments of St. *Edwards Shrine*; and in the end, not having means to defray the dyet of his Court, was enforced to break up houſe, (and as *Paris* ſaith) with his Queen and Children, *Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus ſatis humiliter Hoſpitia queſivit & prandia.* *Clauſ. anno* 46, & 47 *Hen.* 3. *Clauſ. anno* 37. *Hen.* 3.

This low ebb, which again the Kings improvidence had brought him to, gave great aſſu-

rance to the Rebellious Lords, that they should now at the last, have the Soveraign power left a prey to their ambitious designs; and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, than to see the Kings extremity constrain a Parliament, for at such times, Princes are ever less than they should be, Subjects more.

Will. de Rishanger. To hasten on the time, and adapt the means, there are sown certain seditious rumours, that the Kings necessity must repair it self upon the fortunes and liberty of his people, that having nothing of his own left, he might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subjects have means to supply.

This took fire just to their minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtless had flamed higher, if the King had not assuaged it by his Proclamations, wherein he declared, *Quod quidam malevoli sinistra prædicantes, illis falso* *Claus. an. 49 Hen. 3.* *suggesserant, illum velle eos indebita gravare, ac jura & libertates Regni subvertere, & per suggestiones dolosas & omnino falsas eorum corda à sua dilectione & fidelitate avertere*, but desireth, that, *Hujusmodi animorum suorum perturbatoribus ne fidem adhiberent*, for that he was every ready to defend them from the oppression of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura & consuetudines eorum debitas, bonas, & consuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius observare*, and that they may rest of this secure: *De voluntate sua libera liberas suas fecit patentes.* But seeing still, that Majesty and right subsist not without means and power, and himself had of neither so much as would stop the present breach in his own wants, or his Subjects loyalties, he flyeth

to

to the boſom of his people, for relief and Counſel.

At *Oxford* they met in Parliament, where his neceſſities met ſo many undutiful demands, that he was forced to render up to their Rebellious will, his Royal power. *Parl. Oxon.*

Here the Commons knowing that, *Quum eligere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, ſtood with the King to have the managing of the State put to the care of twenty four, whereof twelve by their election, (whereto they look ſtrictly) and the other by him, who in all things elſe, was left a Cipher, and in this, whether by fear, or remiſſneſs, filled up his number with *Mountford*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer*, which beſides the weakening of his own part, won to thoſe his late oppoſites, an opinion of great intereſt they had got in his favour. He now hath left neither election of publick office, nor private attendants, his half brethren and their followers, he muſt deſpoil of all fortune, and exile by preſcription under his own hand, commanding his writs, *Pro tranſportatione fratrum ſuorum*, to be directed to the Earls of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to paſs either their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Niſi in forma quam dictis Comites injunxerint*, and after their departure enjoyned the men of *Briſtol*, that they ſhould not permit any Strangers, *Sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but ſo to behave themſelves therein, that as well the King, *Quàm Magnates ſui eos merito debeant commendare.* *Matth. Paris. Chron. Worc.* *Chron. Litchf.* *Clauſ. anno* 49 *Hen.* 3.

Thus we ſee, how eaſily mens ſtates do change in a moment, and how hard it is to make uſe of all things ill gotten.

Richard elect of the Empire, the Kings full brother, and then beyond Sea, must be wrought by letter, as his free desire to confirm by oath those former restrictions of regal power; which though performed, yet would the Lords suffer neither the one or the other, to enter *Dover* Castle (the key of the Kingdom) which they had furnished, as most of the other Forts of reputation in the Realm with Guardians of their own, sworn respectively to the State; taking the like assurance of all the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the behaviour of many by strict Commission upon oath, to win opinion in shew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after proved, by displacing the faithful servants of the King, to open a way, to their own dependants.

Chron. S. Alban.

Regis Roffen.

Rot. in Scrio. wil. de Rishanger.

This changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State believe, that by this form of limited policy, they had utterly suppressed the mind of man, for ever dreaming more upon the imaginary humours of licentious Soveraignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now every man began to estimate his own worth, and to hammer his head on every design, that might enlarge his power and command.

Then began the great men to rent from the body of the Crown, and regal Signiories, all such royal Suitors as neighboured any of their own own seats, whereto they enforce their service, and so (as the Record saith) *Ad sectas indebitas, & servitutes intolerabiles subditos Regis compulerunt*: Thus raising mean manners to become great Honours, and renting asunder the regal

Scaccar.

gal Juſtice, they made themſelves of ſo many ſubjects whileſt they lived in duty, *Totidem Tyranni* (as the book of Saint *Albans* ſaith) when they had left their loyalties *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni ſuper ſubditos Regis ſervitutes, & oppreſſiones*, which they bore patiently; for excels of miſery having no eaſe but Cuſtome, made men willing to lay the foundation of ſervitude by the length of ſufferance, which found no eaſe or end, until the quiet of this Kings reign. *Rot. Regis in Scboa. 56 H. 3.*

Mountford, *Gloceſter*, and *Diſpencer*, the heads of this Rebellious deſign, having by the late proviſions drawn to the hands of the twenty four *Tribunes* of the people, the entire managing of the Royal State, and finding this power too much diſperſed, to work the end of their deſires, forced again the King at *London* to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the authority of the twenty four unto themſelves, and create a *Triumvirate*, *non conſtituenda Reipublicæ cauſa*, as they firſt pretended, (for their own ends, and ſo in the intereſt of ſome private contented, the publick was ſtayed) but to make a ſpeedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is never ſo high, but ſhe thinks ſtill to mount; that ſtation which ſeemed lately the top, is but a ſtep to her now, and what before was great in deſiring, ſeems little being once in power. *Wallingford. Will. dt. Riſhanger. Chron. de Dunſt.*

Theſe three, elect nine Councellours, and appoint, *Quod tres ad minus alternatim ſemper in curia ſint*, to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of Caſtles, *Et de aliis Regni negotiis*. The chief Juſtice, Chancellour, and Treaſurer, with all offices, *Majores & Minores*, they reſerve the choice of *Ordinat. inter Rec. Lond.*

to

to themselves, and bind the King to this hard bargain upon such strong security; that he is contented under the great Seal, and Oath, to loose to them the Regal knot of duty, whensoever he assumeth to himself his Regal dignity, *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere, & ad gravamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune of whom she had set a pitiful example of her inconstancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the base Title, and that at their leave, beggeth succour from *Urbane* the fourth, against his disloyal Subjects.

Chan. Origin. sub sigillo.

Chron. Litch. wil. de Rishanger.

The Pope by his Bull cancelleth his Oath and contract, and armed him with Excommunications against all those that return not with speed, to their due and old obedience, since promises made by men, which cannot say they are at liberty, are weak, and force hath no power to make just interest.

The Lords on the other side, that had imped their wings with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the ashes of Monarchy, made head against their Soveraign, and to mate him the better, called in aid some *French* forces: Thus the Common-wealth turned again her sword into her own bowels, and invited her ancient Enemy, to the funeral of her liberty; so that it was a wonder, she should not at this time pass under a forraign servitude. And though these men were more truly sensible of their own disgrace, than of others misery: Yet found they no better pretext for private interest than that of the publick.

Chr. Britannic.

Chron. Dunst.

And

And therefore at the entry of this War, they cryed liberty, although when they came near to an end, they never ſpake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeavours a reconciliation, but in vain, for perſwaſions are ever unprofitable, when Juſtice is inferiour to force. *wil. de Rishanger.*

The ſword decided the difference, and gave the two Kings, and their eldeſt Sons Priſoners. The perſon now as well as the regal power, thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Gloceſter*, found neither bound of ſecurity, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatneſs (which now began to break out between theſe mighty Rivals,) gave hope of, for *Leyceſter* meaning by ingroſſing from his partner, to himſelf, the perſon of the King, and to his followers the beſt portion of the ſpoil, to draw more fruit from this advantage, than it would in fellowſhip yield, diſſolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equal Authority with the ſame power, is ever fatal (we ſee) to all great actions: For to fit minds to ſo even a temper, that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting, is impoſſible.

Mountford having thus broken all faith with his Confederates and duty to his Soveraign, left the path of moderation and wiſdom, to come to the King, by that of pride and diſtruſt. To him he telleth, that his armes and ends had no other object ever but order of the State, and eaſe of the people, that he did not in this carry affection againſt duty, but well knew how to reine his deſires, to his juſt power, and ſo no leſs to his Majeſties

Majesties content, if he would be ruled; which was to command the Forts and Castles of his now opposite *Gloceſter*, and the reſt into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but neceſſity in ſoveraign affairs doth often force away all formality; and therefore this poor Prince, who now at the Victors diſcretion, ſeemed to have been only raiſed to ſhew the inconſtancy of fortune and vanity of man, ſuited himſelf with incomparable wiſdom according to the neceſſity of the time; Neither did humility wrong Majeſty, when there was no other means to contain Spirits ſo inſolent, but diſſembling. He therefore ſummoneth in his own perſon the forts of his faſteſt friends, to yield to his greateſt enemies. Theſe he enters in ſhew as his lodging, but in effect his priſon, and ſaw himſelf forced to arm againſt his friends, and to receive now Law from him, to whom he lately thought to give it. Thus *Leyceſter* is become a darling of the Common rout, who eaſily change to every new Maſter, but the beſt durſt not faile along his fortune, by the light of his glory: Cryſtal that fairly gliſtereth doth eaſily break, and as the aſcent of uſurping royalty is ſlippery, ſo the top is ſhaking, and the fall fearful. To hold this man then at the entry of his falſe felicity fully happy, was but to give the name of the Image, to the mettle that was not yet molten, for by this, the impriſoned Prince was eſcaped, and faſt aſſured of *Gloceſter*, by the knot of his great mind, and diſcontent, and both with the torn remainder of the loyal Army united, and by ſpeedy march arrived unlooked for, near *Eveſham*, to the unarmed troops of the ſecure Rebels,

whom

whom they instantly assailed, for it was no fit season to give time, when no time did assure so much, as expedition did promise.

Dispencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speed for mercy, but could not break out, being hurried along the stream of the giddy multitude.

Publick motions depend on the conduct of Fortune; private on our own carriage, we must beware of running down steep hills with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, stops are not then voluntary; but *Leycester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storm might have escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that he could neither forsake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making adversity the exercise of his vertue, he came and fell. Private Cogitations may take more or less of fortune, but thoughts (we see) once raised to the heighth of rule, are no more in our own power, having no mean to step upon between the highest of all and precipitation.

The King by this blessed Fortune freed, and obeyed, began to search the ground of his former misery, and why that Vertue and Fortune that had so long setled and maintained under his Ancestors the glory of his Empire, had cast her in his time off, and conspired with her Enemies, to her almost ruine, as if the *Genius* of the state had quite forsook her. Here he finds his wasteful hand had been too quick, both over the Persons and fortunes of his People, the griping Avarice of his Civil Ministers and lawless liberty of his Martial followers, the neglect of

Rot. par. 53 *H.* 3. *M.* 51. *Rishanger.*

of grace, and breach of his word, to have loſt his Nobility at home, and neceſſity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandize of peace and war, as his laſt refuge; ſo leaving his old Allies became enforced to betake himſelf to perſons doubtful, or injured, and that by giving over himſelf to a ſenſual ſecurity, and referring all to baſe greedy and unworthy Miniſters, whoſe Councils were ever more ſubtle than ſubſtantial, he had thrown down thoſe pillars of ſoveraignty and ſafety, Reputation abroad, and Reverence at home.

Jo. Tuxetter, Mon. Bury.

He now therefore maketh ſweetneſs and clemency the entrances of his regained Rule: for the faults of moſt of the late Rebels he forgot, a gracious kind of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences; others he forgave, that they might live but to the glory of his goodneſs, for the fewer killed, the more remains to adorn the Trophee.

Rot. Cart. 51 & 52 Hen. 3.

Tyrants ſhed blood for pleaſure, Kings for neceſſity; yet left his Juſtice and power might too much ſuffer in his grace and mercy, ſome few he puniſhed by ſmall fines, ſome by baniſhment, as the two guiltleſs, yet unpittied Sons of the Arch-traitour. Treaſon ſo hateful is to the head, that it draweth (we ſee in this,) the carriage of the innocent children into an everlaſting ſuſpect, and what is ſuſpicion in others is guilt in them: Upon the conſtant followers of his broken fortunes he beſtowed, but with a more wary hand than before, the forfeitures of his enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weak means to win love, for it loſt more in the gathering than it gained in the giving. This

Clauſ. 52 H. 3. M. 29.

bounty

bounty beſtowed without reſpect, was taken without grace, diſcredited the receiver and detracteth from the judgement of the giver, and blunted the appetites of ſuch, as carried their hopes out of vertue and ſervice: Thus at laſt, he learned that reward and reprehenſion juſtly laid, do ballance Government, and that it much importeth a Prince, the hand to be equal that holdeth the ſcale. *Chron. Dunſt.*

In himſelf, he reformed his natural errours. Princes manners, though a mute Law, have more of life and vigour than thoſe of letters, and though he did ſometimes touch upon the verge of vice, he forbore ever after to enter the circle.

His court wherein at this time, the faults of great men did not only by approbation, but Imitation receive true comfort, and authority; for their crimes now became examples, and cuſtomes,) he purged very judiciouſly and ſeverely: ſince from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the Common ſtate.

Expence of houſe he meaſured by the juſt Rule of his proper revenue, and was heard often to ſay, that his exceſs of waſte before had been an iſſue of his Subjects blood. The inſolency of his Souldiers made lawleſs by the late liberties of Civil armes, he ſpendeth in forraign expedition. Having ſeen that the quiet Spirits underwent all the former Calamities, and the other never were ſatisfied but in the miſery of Innocents, and would, if they had no enemies abroad, ſeek out one at home, as they had done before. *Ordinat. authon. Reg. aulæ. Clauſ. 53 H. 3. Riſhangr.*

The rigour and corruption of his judicial Officers he examineth, and redreſſeth by ſtrict Commiſſion; For the ſence of their ſeverity, became a murmur of his own cruelty. *Pat. 53, & 54 H. 3. Comment. de Trail. baſton.*

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The seats of Judgement and Council, he filled up with men nobly born. For such attract with less offence, the Generous spirits to respect and reverence. Their Abilities he measureth not by favour, or by Private Information, as before, but by publick voice, for every man in particular may deceive and be deceived, but no man can deceive all, nor all one.

And to discover now his own Capacity, and what part he meaneth to bear hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions, he sitteth himself in Council daily, and disposeth affairs of most weight in his own person. For Councellours be they never so wise or worthy, are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the State; their Office must be subjection, not fellowship, in considerations of moment, and to have ability to advise, not authority to resolve.

For as to live, the Prince must have a particular soul; so to rule his proper and intern Council; without the one he can never be truly man, without the other, he shall never be securely a Prince; for it offendeth as well the Minister of merit as the people to force obedience to one uncapable of his own greatness, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderful change to the general State (so hopeless lately to recover her former liberty, they sought now for nothing but the mildest servitude) brought them home again with admiration to his devotion and their own duty.

He that will lay (we see the foundation of greatness upon popular love, must give them ease and Justice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receive.

This

This peace attended ever after his age and hearſe, and he happily lived to faſhion his Son and Succeſſour, and to make him Partner of his own experience and authority, whoſe own hard education training him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beaſts, framed him to affect glory, and vertue, which made him ſuperiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Reign were exact grounds of Diſcipline, and Policy, for his beſt ſucceſſour to rule by after, who as he was the firſt of his name ſince the Conqueſt, ſo was he the firſt that ſetled the Law and State, deſerving the Stile of *Englands Juſtinian*, and the proud title to have freed this Kingdom from the wardſhip of the Peers, ſhewing himſelf in all his Actions after, capable to Command not the Realm only, but the whole World. *Barth. Cotton. Chron. Norwic.*

Thus do the wrongs of our Enemies more than our own diſcretions, make us ſometimes both wiſe and fortunate.

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

April 29.
1614.

FINIS.

THE

French Charity:

WRITTEN

In *French* by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, upon occaſion of Prince *Harecourt*'s coming into *ENGLAND.*

And tranſlated into Engliſh by F.S. J.E.

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THE

French Charity.

ALthough we see that natural causes produce sometimes contrary effects, that the Sun which draws up the Clouds, can also scatter them, that the same Wind both lights and blows out the Taper, that Vipers serve for wholsom Medicaments, and Scorpions carry about them an Antidote to their own poison: it is not so nevertheless in Moral and Politick affairs, wherein that which is once ill, is alwayes accounted such; from whence is begot in us that quality which we call *Experience*, whereby wise men are accustomed to judge of present and future actions by those that are past. Which is the foundation whereupon

all Monarchies and Republicks have eſtabliſhed the Maxims of their ſubſiſtence, and found out both what they ought to follow, and what to avoid.

The Charity which *France* hath teſtified to pacifie our differences, is ſo great, that it is become incredible, ſo unſeaſonable that it is ſuſpected, and ſo contrary to their former proceedings that it is quite other wayes underſtood. Philoſophers ſay, we cannot paſs from one extremity to another without ſome mean; I cannot ſee by what ſteps they are come to this perfect goodneſs, nor what good *Genius* can have made them in an inſtant ſo good friends of ſuch dangerous neighbours to us. I will paſs my cenſure upon nothing, yet let me have the liberty to judge of all. I find ſo great a wonder in this change, that I find a conflict in my ſelf to believe it. It is no common marvel, that thoſe who have for ſo long a time beheld all *Europe* in a flame, and could not be moved by the blood and deſtruction of ſo many people to caſt thereon one drop of water, ſhould now have their bowels ſo tender as to compaſſionate the diſſentions ariſing in a corner of the world which hath alwayes been fatal to them; That thoſe who have made it their chiefeſt intereſt to divide us, ſhould now

now make it their glory to reunite us; That thoſe who place their reſt in our troubles, ſhould now apply their cares for our repoſe; and that after they have caſt us down headlong, they ſhould reach us a plank for to come aſhore. Let the wiſe Reader here (whilſt I determine nothing) allow me at leaſt a little diſtruſt; it is the Mother of Safety. The *Trojans*, who could not be overcome by Arms, periſht by a pledge of peace. All the *French* civilities are fair and good; but in the bottom,

Quicquid id eſt, timeo Gallos, & dona ferentes.

Let us ſee what reaſons can oblige them to intereſt themſelves ſo paſſionately in our agreement. Is it Religion? ſurely no; for that which they profeſs, is contrary to that of this Kingdom; and the little Charity they have for their own, ought not to perſwade us that they have much for ours. Is it for the inclination they have to peace? ſurely no; for if they eſteemed it a benefit, they would ſeek it firſt for themſelves. It is perhaps for an acknowledgement of their obligations to us in the late wars, and for the aſſiſtance we gave to thoſe of *Rochel*. I, this would be truly Chriſtian indeed, to

render us good for evil. They will say, that they are the bands of blood and parentage, which bind them to the *Queen*; and yet they have let the Mother beg her subsistence and retreat among strangers, which she could not find with them, and having beheld her without pitty and succour in her greatest extremities, they advise to offer her a remedy upon the declining of her ill. But if this be the reason of their admittance, I conceive them no lawful nor indifferent Mediators, since they are so much concern'd in one of the parties. They will whisper us in the ear, that the design is to pacifie us, and to ingage us in a league with them against the *Spaniard*; although at the same time they design Ambassadours for *Munster* to endeavour a peace with him. O, we should wrong them very much to believe it, though they might seem in an humour to desire it of us; They are too gallant spirited to pretend it, they know that we are better advised than to serve them to pull their Chesnut out of the fire; that a body recovering health from a long sickness ought not to expose it self to a violent agitation; that the State will find it self loaden with debts, and the Subject exhausted by Contributions; that we ought

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to preferr the evident profit of traffick before the uncertain vanity of a conqueſt; that Jealouſies being not yet removed, nor emulations ſuppreſt, all kind of arming would be ſuſpected by the State, fearing leſt ſome under pretence of a forreign War might ſtudy private revenge, or the oppreſſion of the publick liberty; and that in the end it will be our gain to ſee them deal with *Spain*, and to make our advantage of their troubles, or not to meddle at all with them, unleſs by adding ſecretly (according to the revolution of affairs) a little weight to them that ſhall be found the lighter. If then it be none of theſe motives, it remains that it muſt be either Generoſity, or deceit. O *Generoſity* (that haſt ſo long ſince withdrawn thy ſelf to Heaven, there to keep company with the fair *Aſtræa*, or rather, who we're buried in *France* in the Sepulchre of Monſieur *Genin*) is it poſſible that thou ſhouldſt be riſen again, or that *France* ſhould have recall'd thee with her exiles ſince the death of her King; and that the firſt labour ſhe ſhould put thee to, ſhould be in favour of *England*, againſt whom but few dayes ſince ſhe ſhewed ſuch violent reſentments, for an offence received by a pretended violation of the Treaties which had paſt between

tween us? Truly if it be ſhe we muſt reverence her with extraordinary reſpects; but before we give her the Honour due unto her, we muſt know her, for fear of Idolatry in adoring her maſque for her ſelf, or embracing a cloud inſtead of a Goddeſs. Let us give a thruſt with our Launce into the *Trojan* horſe, to ſee if there be no ambuſh within.

In walking lately with ſome *French* Gentlemen (as this nation is free enough of their diſcourſe) a word eſcaped from one of the company without making reflexion (as I think) of what Countrey I was, That amongſt their Prophets there was one which ſaid, That *the Conqueſt of* England *was promiſed to their young King.* This thought caſt into the aire though inconſiderately, ſeemed to me very conſiderable; and having given me an occaſion to reflect upon all things both paſt and preſent, it ſerved me as a light to guide me in the obſcurity of this Labyrinth, upon which before I had reaſoned but ſuperficially. From thence being returned to my lodging, I opened accidentally a book of Monſieur *de Rohan*, intitled *The intereſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom*, and I fell preſently upon a paſſage where he ſaid, That one of the ſureſt wayes to make ones ſelf Maſter of a State, is to interpoſe and make himſelf arbiter of its

diffe-

differences. I had no need of any other *Oedipus* to expound to me the riddle of the Propheſie, theſe firſt motives of ſuſpicion having caſt me into more profound thoughts, I revolved in my mind how *France* had managed the whole buſineſs, both before and ſince the beginning of our troubles, and weighed all the circumſtances of this Ambaſſage. Why ſuch a ſolemn Ambaſſage in a time when all things ſeem moſt exaſperated and furtheſt from accommodation? Why then not ſooner, while differences were not yet irreconcileable between the two parties? Why ſuch a warlike Prince, who is not experienced in the affairs of this Kingdom, to manage a negotiation of a peace the moſt nice and intricate that the world at this time affords? Why at the ſame time levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, when all the other troops are in their quarters? Why therefore ſhould they ſupply one of the parties with money, when they come to act the perſons of Mediators; if not to caſt wood and oyle into the flame? Why at the ſame time an Agent in *Scotland*, who propounds to them openly a League with *France*? Why begin they only to turn their cares upon *England*, when they are upon the point of concluding a peace with *Spain*? May not we well judge that

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it is to prepare themſelves for a new employment? ſince they themſelves confeſs that their boiling and unquiet temper hath need of continual exerciſe, and that the only means to prevent troubles at home, is continually to furniſh them with matter whereupon to evacuate their choler abroad. Why doth only *France* afford us this ſo ſuddain and unexpected Charity, after all the freſh wounds which bleed yet among them becauſe of the expulſion of the *Capuchins*, after the continual cares ſhe hath taken for ſo many years to lay the foundation of our troubles by the ſecret negotiations of the Marquis of *Blainville*, by the intrigues of the Cardinal of *Richelieu* with *Buckingham*, by the long plots in *Scotland*, and by the open ſollicitations of the Marquis *de la Fert*? by all which they ſometimes incited the Kings miniſters to make him independent and abſolute, offering to that purpoſe their aſſiſtance, and anon they ſollicited the States to ſhake off the yoke of ſervitude, finally they transformed themſelves into a thouſand different ſhapes, till having plunged us deep enough in the gulf, they then call back their Ambaſſage, to give in appearance ſome ſatisfaction to the King, but in truth becauſe his commiſſion was expired. May not we well conclude from all this, that they will

will now reap the fruits they have ſo carefully ſown and cultivated amongſt us? From theſe conſiderations falling inſenſibly on thoſe of *England*, what need (ſaid I in my ſelf) have we of the intermeddling of ſtrangers? are they more verſed in our intereſts than our ſelves? can they afford more expedients? are they more ſenſible of our Miſeries than thoſe that ſuffer them? Is it to exhort us, or to conſtrain us? the firſt is ſuperfluous; the ſecond dangerous. It muſt needs be that either in the one caſe they think to go beyond us in wit, or in the other to maſter us by force. If peace be profitable for us, have we any need either of a Maſter to make us know our advantage, or of an Oratour to perſwade us to it? If it be hurtful to us, we ought to give them thanks for their advice, but follow that which is better. If the peace be feaſible, why ſhould we leave the glory of it to others? if impoſſible, why loſe time in making vain propoſitions? why ſhould we acquaint ſtrong and ambitious neighbours, and truſt the *Philiſtins* with the ſecret of our force? Muſt *England*, that hath in times paſt compelled *France* to purchaſe peace, be now conſtrained to beg it of her? that one of the moſt conſiderable and flouriſhing Monarchies of the world ſhould ſerve for matter of ſport to

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the vanity of the *French*, and be the first upon whom they exercise the Title they give themselves of being Arbiters of Christendome? What Counsel then shall we follow in this encounter? That of good and wise Nature, who having separated us from all other Nations by a vast and deep trench, silently teacheth us, that the principle of our subsistence is in our selves, and that we ought not to submit our government to the arbitrement of others.

FINIS.